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Political Affairs

PREPARATIONS FOR THE 19TH PARTY CONFERENCE
PART IV

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Soviet Union

Political Affairs

Preparations For The 19TH Party Conference

JPRS-UPA-88-035

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Party Journal Proposes Decentralization of Press

18000445 Moscow *POLITICHESKOYE OBRAZOVANIYE* in Russian No 9, 1988 (signed to press 24 May 88) pp 3-15

[Article by Valentin Yevseyev under the "Toward the 19th All-Union Conference of the CPSU" rubric: "Glasnost, Agreement, Consensus, What Is the Party Charge of the Press Aimed At"]

[Text] Anyone who has given some thought to the nature of the revolutionary transformations taking place in the country, which were initiated by the April (1985) Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee, has paid heed to that vivifying discordance of opinion that is exciting to the mind and the heart, to that free expression of views and convictions, to that diversity of opinion which seem to have sprung up unexpectedly and spontaneously. As a matter of fact they have been maturing in society for a long time and had become quite inevitable in the stage of its precrisis state, especially in connection with the reinterpretation of the road we have traveled and the drawing of lessons for the future. All that was kept concealed or artificially restrained, forced into the channel of the official uniformity of ideas has gushed to the surface in response to Lenin's appeal: "Light, more light!" ("Poln. sobr. soch." [Collected Works], Vol 8, p 96), resurrected, as it were snatched by the party from the depths of the decades, from the very wellsprings of party spirit.

Yes, broad openness, glasnost, criticism and self-criticism, other effective and strong manifestations of democracy, vividly and visibly expressing to the fullest the democratic nature of our party, the objective need for the conscious and organized actions of the masses under socialism, are now springing up as though for the first time, in primordial form, from the ashes of imitation and the layers of bureaucratic formalities, and as they are increasingly perceived as sociopolitical categories, they are being affirmed more and more as the most important laws of the life of the party, the state, and society. The idea of the press as the most representative platform of glasnost, that which involves the largest number of people.

The Communist Party, which views glasnost as the starting point for psychological restructuring of personnel and for solving other specific problems and as an inseparable feature of the normal intellectual and moral atmosphere in society, an attribute of socialism in general, has come to the very important conclusion that without glasnost there is no democracy, nor can there be, and without democracy there is no modern socialism, nor can there be. We need glasnost, M.S. Gorbachev has remarked, as we need the air we breathe ("Perestroyka i novoye myshleniye dlya nashey strany i dlya vsego mira" [Restructuring and New Thinking for Our Country and for the Entire World], Moscow, Politizdat, 1987, p 75).

It is not difficult to detect even what we might call the deep concrete-historical significance of what is taking place: as the difference of opinion, the divergence of viewpoints, disputes, the break with views that are turned backwards, are melted down into a creative exploration of ways and means of overcoming the present difficulties, as the artificial trimming of differing opinion gives way to an actual realization of the need for certain measures, to a unification of people who think differently in a common action. Implementation of the decisions of the 27th party congress and subsequent plenums of the CPSU Central Committee has been the basis for a real consolidation of the Soviet people around the ideas of restructuring, and the actions of fighters for the new to deepen the processes of restructuring, to carry out a radical economic reform, and to further democratize the life of the party and society are becoming more and more concerted. This is happening not only on its own, but because the CPSU, as noted at the ceremonial assembly held in the Kremlin to commemorate the 118th anniversary of the birth of V.I. Lenin, is appealing to all to adopt the platform of socialist renewal, and is striving to consolidate a real conscious moral-political unity of society on the principles of restructuring.

The uninterrupted achievement of the purposive movement of the workers toward a qualitatively new state of society, toward consolidation in the party and in the country of the relations of glasnost, of a critical and vigorous rejection of all kinds of window dressing, of psychological duality, of negative manifestations whatever they might be that deepen or preserve the well-known deformations of socialism, constitutes convincing evidence that the party of Lenin has been successfully performing its role as the political and moral vanguard of the people, of its creative approach to solving the problems that have come to a head. This is being furthered to a considerable extent by the preparation being made for the upcoming partywide forum, which is imparting to glasnost a strong charge of party spirit, of the Marxist-Leninist ideological orientation, and is thereby delivering this process from elements of sensationalism and other side effects with negative implications. A large role has been played here by the reports of elective party bodies on the leadership of restructuring, by the meetings in the headquarters of the CPSU Central Committee with leaders in the mass media, ideological institutions, unions of creative people, first secretaries of the central committees of the communist parties of the union republics and party kraykoms and obkoms. The resourceful and self-sacrificing advocates of restructuring received vigorous support at the February (1988) Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee, at the All-Union Congress of Kolkhoz Members, and in the editorial of the newspaper PRAVDA dated 5 April of this year entitled "Principles of Restructuring: The Revolutionary Nature of Thought and Action."

In short, glasnost is gaining strength, and this has to be gratifying to all those who cherish the ideals of socialism and communism, who see socialist social relations,

which are becoming stronger in the ideological and ethical sense and in a practical material sense, as the reliable foundation for mobilizing the political activity and industry of the masses, as a guarantee of their confident and consistent fight for revolutionary transformations in society. At the same time, there is hardly anyone who will assert that the energy of revolutionary changes long stored up in the people and the party has already, as it is said, been fully activated, that the flywheel of restructuring has been revved up to full speed. We must face it that shattering the mechanism that it is holding things back, seeking out ways of counteracting it, and of further developing democracy in the economy, in politics, and in the party itself, necessitate a reassessment of priorities not only as to content and tasks, but also as to the components, elements, forms, and methods of our entire effort, not overlooking establishment of glasnost and working out a system of glasnost at various levels of leadership and administration (self-government).

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As is well-known, the ideological and organizational support of restructuring, which began with a collective discussion in which the working masses numbering in the many millions took part, with preparation of the new version of the Program and with the substantial updating of the CPSU Bylaws, that is, with the organizational-ideological strengthening of the party and the ideological-political unification of all forces on that basis, has not been and could not have been restricted to definition of general principles. There was a need for a thorough study of the society in which we live (so as to evaluate the past more acutely and to outline the tasks of greatest priority), for realization of the urgent need to learn how to overcome the chronic gap between reality and proclaimed policy.

And this process, which incorporates the enthusiasm and essence of present-day socialist revolutionism in our society, would be simply impossible if the party attempted to lead it, much less augment it, without imparting, to use Lenin's words, the broadest public scrutiny [glasnost] of matters crucial to a particular impact on the masses...,"ignoring, as was previously the case, "the public scrutiny of an examination into everything that does not incorporate conspiratorial secrets" (Vol 8, p 95; Vol 9, p 117). There can be no question of any turnaround in the economy, of a change in people's orientation toward new thinking, of achieving their consensus on fundamental issues, of a unity of thought and action within the party and outside it, in the popular masses, without a vital interest of the CPSU in raising the ideological level of the workers, the peasants, and the intelligentsia, unless it is concerned on an everyday basis about the events taking place and the entire existence of society being reflected in their consciousness with sufficient completeness and accuracy. And this presupposes glasnost, open acknowledgment of mistakes, exposure of

their causes, which is, as Lenin put it, not only a sign of a serious party, but also a condition for the right kind of indoctrination and teaching of the masses (see Vol 41, pp 40-41).

Indeed even the party itself can carry on its normal life and renew itself only when it guarantees a unity of the thought and action of its members that is not mechanical, but is dialectical, alive, and developing. By achieving not only a correct explanation, but also an alteration of reality in the interests of the people and humanity as a whole, the party, as Lenin taught, is striving to bring the entire activity of our propaganda and agitation out into the open, by means of broad publicity to transform diverse facts of life and activity of party organizations "into useful and necessary material for party self-education" (Vol 8, p 96). This is also with a view to the kind of glasnost that goes beyond the limits of relations within the party and supports the integrity and guarantees the interaction of all the components of a cause that is of the entire party and the entire people.

In Lenin's conception, the party, as the political organization of the masses, had an obligation to openly carry on organizational and explanatory work among all strata of the population, defending not only class positions, but also general democratic positions, to publicly guide the development of social processes, especially under revolutionary conditions, and to conduct in public the selection, appointment, and training of personnel. And its internal life, beginning with enrollment of new members, the formation and strengthening of party organizations, improvement of the style and methods of their activity, and the entire system of internal party relations, and ending with the purging of party ranks of "hangars-on" must be clear and accessible for discussion both to party members and also, when possible, to those who are not in the party.

When, of course, a party of the new type has just taken shape and has then operated underground or semilegally, reviving again and again after the blows inflicted on it by the tsarist Okhranka, there could not be full glasnost in its life, nor for the same reason could all the bodies of leadership be elected. But even in the Bolsheviks, combining underground existence with legal forms of operation, with the presentation of disagreements in the party ranks to the judgment of the masses, openly and publicly had an impact on the course of events, including events even in the domain of internal party relations. The underground and legal press were also actively used to that end.

And when the socialist revolution was victorious, glasnost, in spite of the immense difficulties of converting the party press to a party-Soviet press directed toward all the principal strata and social groups of the workers, actually took on the greatest importance in the practice of the party, the state, and society. Above all as an indispensable means of educating and rallying the masses, of educating them about the economy and of

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involving them in management of production, of developing socialist competition, as a tool in fighting bureaucracy, red tape, abuses of power, bribery, moral degeneration, as a collection and distribution point for the diverse experience in building the new life, in applying the tried-and-true principles of democratic centralism in the economic sphere, and so on.

The instructions, advice, and critical suggestions in this area run like a red thread through the works of V.I. Lenin and party documents of the Leninist period. Then the requirements of glasnost and their practical realization during the tense discussions, the fight against the opposition groups in the 2d half of the twenties, and especially under the influence of the cult of Stalin's personality that took shape in the thirties, were gradually cut off, deformed, and almost nullified. The attempts to revive glasnost after the 20th party congress were not successful. Even some 20 years ago it essentially was still under a ban.

To be sure, matters never went so far as a complete crisis of glasnost, much less confinement of information to internal channels. The democratic nature of the party and the socialist system is so alive and strong that one way or another it found its public expression. For example, precongress discussions were held, there were discussions of the problems of the economic reforms and of individual projects for the national economy, and so on. But the return, to put it mildly, left something to be desired, especially with respect to the political aspects of the issues under consideration. Many of them were not touched upon at all.

And it is not surprising that the party, in commencing restructuring, the comprehensive renewal of society, resorted to the sharpest and strongest weapon, a weapon, when examined from broad Leninist positions, that is at the same time the means, the form, and the leading aspect of the principle of democracy. The CPSU sees democratization and glasnost as more than an instrument of restructuring and not as a temporary campaign. This is the realization of the essence of our socialist system, the system that is of the workers and for the workers, this is the essence of socialism. And that is why from the very outset the CPSU Central Committee has relied on two powerful real forces—the party committees and the mass media. "I would even say," M.S. Gorbachev noted in the book referred to above, "that the party would perhaps not have managed to arrive at the present level of discussion of all the problems of restructuring—and it is extensive, ambiguous, and contradictory—if the mass media had not really become actively involved in this process immediately after the April Plenum of the Central Committee" (p 78).

Thus glasnost, expressing as it does the essence of internal party democracy and socialist democracy, and its most reliable information media, which enter into the political structure of society as the most mobile and revolutionary part of the general party mechanism, by

merging into one, have an incomparable impact on internal party relations and social relations and on the entire sociopolitical system. Moreover, and this is very important, this does not happen directly, but through man as the vehicle of these relations, as the main component of the system. At the level of theory there has been no doubt about this causal relation for a long time; it was identified in the classics of Marxism-Leninism, it has been verified by the historical experience of the international working class and its parties, and above all by the party created and led by Lenin. But the organizational-political and ideological capabilities of the party press and the mass media have still not been properly understood nor utilized to full advantage.

Restructuring has not simply placed this question on the agenda, but has advanced it as the pivotal issue. This has made it possible to undertake the drafting and application of enactments that guarantee glasnost and are called upon to guarantee maximum openness in the operation of state and public organizations, realistic conditions for the workers to express their opinion fearlessly on any matter of sociopolitical significance. Other steps are also being taken to realize the capabilities that have become evident. A desire has been clearly expressed to create a faultlessly functioning system of glasnost in which the role of the mass media would be identified: to organize matters so that these media would operate as a free, integral, and flexible force on the scale of the entire country, a force capable of acting quickly to shed light on the most urgent events and problems.

There is no question that our Leninist party has been and remains the decisive guarantee of glasnost and of the process of democratization in the country. By initiating and then guiding the discussion by party members and those outside the party of the entire spectrum of issues which are to be taken up in the party conference, the CPSU has striven to impart a maximum of openness and critical examination of the state of affairs in all spheres of the life of society and of its own vital activity. A paramount concern here has been that the mass media not break off the political dialogue with the reader, the viewer, the listener, that they ably carry on a comradely debate and discussion on the principles of restructuring. The sole purpose is to liberate the social and political activity of the Soviet people, bringing about a conflict of opinions, not only complementary opinions, but even opposite opinions, highlighting when necessary the extremes when the struggle has become fierce. And all of this in the interest of making a break with conservative views, of unifying all the forces of the party and the people on a fundamental basis. As M.S. Gorbachev emphasized at the meeting held in the headquarters of the CPSU Central Committee on 7 May of this year, they will advance the slogan: Solidarity and consolidation of society, the orientation toward restructuring.

What is practice showing? Are things turning out as they should? It is difficult to answer this question unambiguously. In any case the break is taking place, the gap

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between reality and policy, between words and deeds, is being overcome. But the picture at present is a mixed one, as in fact is natural. One can even cite quite a few examples where the development of democracy and glasnost has turned up paradoxes. Voices are being raised, for example, about the need not for reconstruction and development of the doctrine of socialism, but for developing a new doctrine, for a radical reassessment of the sources and components of Marxism, for a decisive change in the entire conception of restructuring, for creating "independent" newspapers and periodicals, publishing houses, and so-called parallel structures, since under restructuring, it is said, it is no longer possible to rely on the bodies of leadership of the party and state (see VEK XX I MIR, No 2, 1988). In general, articles in the press, television and radio programs, and also certain books, theater productions, and films quite often do less to clarify matters than to make people confused, along with the harmful stereotypes of thought that have become established they also wash away the basic principles which cannot be retreated from. At the same time, defenders of the "foundations," of yesterday's principles, are becoming more vigorous, and at the same time they are often sincere, convinced of their rightness, but in actuality they are holding tightly to the "ideological" baggage of the stagnant years, and indeed they are in actuality justifying the distortions and flagrant flouting of the true values of socialism in the past. One of the most important and typical of such articles was published in the newspaper SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA on 13 March of this year, and it was analyzed in detail, from the fundamental positions of restructuring, in the 5 April PRAVDA article we have mentioned.

But here is what is striking in this regard. PRAVDA did not name the author of the views being criticized, whose article was published under the heading "Polemics" in the form of a letter to the editor. And it did not do so for quite understandable reasons: in such cases, as K. Marx put it, the name has nothing to do with the issue. It was important to denote clearly the erroneous positions, positions which moreover contain nothing constructive, to prove their unsoundness and to contrast them with other positions that have a direct relation to the things that need restructuring and how it needs to be done. Personal outbursts and other extremes were unfortunately inevitable in the aftermath. For instance, the newspaper MOSKOVSKIYE NOVOSTI spoke in answer to a question from abroad about opponents of restructuring in its 10 April issue along with a general conversation of scientists on the topic "Is There Hope for the Conservatives"—published a harsh and polemical article that at times when too far; it was entitled "Facing the Truth" and was directed against the article mentioned in SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA and its author and was published under the general headline "Portrait of an Opponent of Restructuring." At the same time, a still more categorical conclusion was contained in one of the first responses to the PRAVDA editorial: "I would expel from the party those who wrote that article!" (PRAVDA, 11 April 1988).

What does this indicate, and what does it imply? In a similar situation Lenin, responding to his opponent who had condemned such methods in a debate between the Bolshevik PRAVDA and the Menshevik-liquidationist newspaper LUCH (1913), noted that there was no struggle without enthusiasm and no enthusiasm without extremes, and the main thing was to invest every struggle for every topic of the day with its "inseparable connection to fundamental goals" (Vol 23, p 53). And further: "You are talking about a socialist party educating the proletariat. But in this struggle the issue is precisely defending the basic principles of party spirit.... After all, that is everything—the ABC's of the party's existence..." (Ibid., p 54). Vladimir Ilich was resolutely opposed to attempts to condemn glasnost because of the mistakes that are at times inevitable in the press, because unreliable information is published, since when they are detected, they must unfailingly be refuted. It was in this context in fact that he used the words which later became an epigram to the effect that "glasnost is a sword which itself heals the wounds which it inflicts" (Ibid., p 53).

The current restructuring, which is affirming Bolshevik devotion to principle, fairness, Leninist sincerity in politics, demands an honest and self-critical approach from each of us and in particular, I would say, from the bodies of party leadership and the news media, which express glasnost and are its defenders. There is no doubt that the spread of glasnost and its legitimate linkage to the fundamental principles of the party and of socialism have evoked a powerful flow of information and of criticism from below, a flow unprecedented in previous years (not just years indeed, but decades), a flow whose strength was something most people were unaccustomed to, and there has been a corresponding intensification of self-criticism at all levels. The public acknowledgment and correction of one's own mistakes, though it has been somewhat tardy in coming, is also being revived in the press.

Readers can remember quite a few such examples. For instance, in connection with publication in PRAVDA of the review of letters entitled "Cleansing" in which mistaken emphasis was put during the precongress discussion, the sketch from Tula Oblast entitled "Restoration," etc. Letters have been published in the newspaper from those on whom false evidence was given in the past (see "Justice Has Prevailed," PRAVDA, 10 March 1988). The editorial collegium of SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA, which had previously published responses to the PRAVDA editorial, presented what on the whole was a self-critical assessment of its position. It acknowledged that "in preparing for publication the letter entitled 'I Cannot Retreat From Principles' it had not shown enough responsibility, judiciousness, and understanding that it was leading all of us away from revolutionary renewal of society on the basis of democracy and glasnost" (SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA, 15 April 1988).

And still many of our publications and radio and television staffs, especially at the local level, do not have the responsibility, judiciousness, and understanding of what

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glasnost means without any reservations or limitations whatsoever. After all, it is self-evident, indeed this has been discussed repeatedly, that glasnost must strengthen our society and its political vanguard, that we favor glasnost in the interest of socialism. The CPSU Central Committee has a firm response to the question of whether there are limits to glasnost, to criticism, and to democracy: if glasnost, criticism, and democracy are in the interest of socialism, in the interest of the people—they are without limit! (see "Democratization as the Essence of Restructuring, as the Essence of Socialism," PRAVDA, 13 January 1988).

That is why in stringing into a logical chain the terms that have a common root—glasnost, agreement, and consensus, our purpose was above all to emphasize that taken together they largely define the new attribute that is so necessary today of truly collectivist sociopolitical relations that are socialist in nature, and this is the road toward realizing the full potential of democracy, toward activating our main reserve—the human factor in the broadest sense of the word. This would also seem to be the right point of departure in thinking about the issues of the party-oriented impact of the press and of restructuring its work.

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I allow that some reader might ironically note in connection with what I have said that it is easy to talk about such things in general and as a whole, acting in the role of commentator on the well-known decisions and actions of comrades holding high positions—just try to make a specific decision in a specific situation or just evaluate proposals already made concerning the further development of glasnost.

As a matter of fact, it is not an easy matter to determine how one should proceed as a practical matter in a particular case. On the eve of the plenum of the Orel Oblast Party Committee, for example, which discussed the work of its bureau concerning the leadership of restructuring, the newspaper SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA printed under the heading "On the Agenda—Report on Restructuring" an interview with Ye.S. Stroyev, first secretary of the oblast committee, which was based on his report and other preparatory materials (SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA, 8 January 1988). This led to the fear that this might change the orientation of those who had determined upon a wave of criticism, would it not muffle the acuteness and devotion to principle in the collective analysis of the state of affairs? Especially since PRAVDA and other central periodicals, resuming the traditions of the Bolshevik press, had in their coverage of the report campaign, in which the interview was one of the forms used, not allowed admonitory statements, even if they were constructive in nature, when they ran counter to the general line of developing criticism and self-criticism and of strengthening personal accountability all the way to the possibility of replacement, partial or complete, of the membership of elective bodies.

This was an article taking up a full column, accompanied moreover by two pictures, that was interesting and appealing in its liveliness and emotional content: the upper photograph was a closeup of the obkom secretary, and the lower one showed him again at the center of a small group of persons in conversation. Knowing Yegor Semenovich Stroyev to be an intelligent and conscientious worker, one who had made a successful start as a first secretary and had already done a great deal, specifically to revive the rural areas of Orel Oblast (this was mentioned in the interview), I asked him in bewilderment: "How could this have happened?" It turned out that for a long time the newspaper had been sending from the oblast mainly critical information and was continuing to do so, without noting that when the new leader came to office, the situation had begun to change. The time came to clear things up with the editors with, as they say, the facts in hand. The upshot of which was the other extreme.

To be sure, the guardedness that has arisen has been smoothed out by the sincerity, the analytical spirit, the reflective way in which facts, examples, and figures have been offered, revealing that thanks to the turn toward man's psychological and moral side, thanks to the transition to economic methods of economic activity, a steady tendency is taking shape here toward positive developments in rural life. What is more, at the very outset and in conclusion of the interview the interviewee expressed the hope that in spite of the prior discussion of the theses of the report in all rayons, and the coverage of all the issues in ORLOVSKAYA PRAVDA and elsewhere, the members of the oblast committee would express themselves openly, would offer an objective assessment of every member of the bureau and would be thorough in discovering what is not being done where, and why, and through whose fault or negligence there have been hitches in the effort.

The author of the interview (I hope he will forgive me this openness!) still had to take no few pains with other secretaries and staff members of the obkom apparatus, and this moreover was done in haste, to forestall possible manifestations of complacency, overestimation of what had been achieved, and so on. On the whole, the plenum can be said to have held to a high level of criticism and self-criticism, constructive experience with restructuring was revealed, although there were some self-serving reports, routine speeches, and elements of formalism in the preparation and discussion of the draft of the decree. They thus came to look upon the correspondent in Orel as their own man, and there was nothing left for him to do in preparing the article on the plenum but to confirm the model of it he had "guessed" in advance (see SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA, 16 January 1988).

I repeat, it is a difficult matter to guarantee glasnost; it requires a great deal of knowledge, professional skill, and political sensitivity. Nor is it any accident that both our own comrades and opponents have been giving this serious reflection. Everything that we presuppose for the

further development of glasnost has not even been enumerated. But if we summarize what has been said in the press, the letters of workers, and the plenums of party committees and assemblies of party members that discuss the reports of their elective bodies on the leadership of restructuring, then we can draw the conclusion that mainly it is a matter of making visible—to use Lenin's words, as in the palm of your hand—all the activity at various levels of leadership and administration, promotion of personnel and the rationale behind promotion, especially in the upper echelons, the real reasons why personnel are removed from positions they occupy, the process of working out crucial decisions and of monitoring their execution, and all the debates, disputes, and differences of opinion in the bodies of leadership (once again mostly the higher ones, and so on).

The decisive role in setting up this kind of glasnost, fully in conformity with Leninist requirements, is given to the press, to the mass media. The lack of exhaustive information at the present time about speeches delivered in plenums of the CPSU Central Committee, as it was put by one of the participants in the discussion in PRAVDA, in the department "Excerpts From Letters Contributing to the Discussion Leading up to the 19th All-Union Party Conference" has sometimes led to political speculations, conjectures, and rumors. In his opinion, such information ought to be made open to everyone, with the possible exception of discussion of matters related to defense, and the material of the upcoming conference must unfailingly be published in the press (see PRAVDA, 17 April 1988). Proposals to this effect were also expressed in assemblies of party members in the Chelyabinsk and Mary Oblast party organization, the Maritime Kray party organizations, and others, and the editorial staffs of certain central and local publications.

Arguments of this kind are based on a certain historical experience of the party, confirming the permanent significance of Lenin's principles to the effect that the masses must know everything, must make a conscious judgment about everything, must make a conscious judgment about everything in order to participate actively in revolutionary transformations and in exercising control from below. "What need do I, for example, an ordinary worker, have for democracy, why do I need glasnost?" argues the Muscovite S. Nabirukhin. "I want to have my own opinion, backed up by argument, I want it to be heard and I want it to be possible for the correct decision of the state to be worked out, to influence a change for the better in the life around me" (MOSKOVSKAYA PRAVDA, 24 April 1988). No person without bias will object to this legitimate desire.

The question is only how to guarantee glasnost at the upper level so as not to allow blunders that would have adverse consequences disorienting the lower levels and weakening the unity of action of the masses. When representatives of the press appeal to the Presidium of the 10th All-Russian Conference asking to be allowed to use the transcripts of speeches and statements for

prompt publication of the materials, Lenin appropriately said: "In my opinion, an editor must be designated who is personally responsible for the clear presentation of speeches in abbreviated form, eliminating everything that is not entirely suitable for public scrutiny" (Vol 52, p 216).

This clearly does not signify any kind of reservations, and it has nothing at all to do with restriction of glasnost. It is a question of sophistication and skill in the public work, which should be done, as Lenin advised, "in the appropriate way, so that the public is fully informed and the matter is clarified without any literary equestrianism by no means dropping to the level of gossip and private communications that fear the light of public scrutiny" (Vol 11, p 213).

It seems indispensable, then, for party officials and journalists—everyone who has anything to do with conducting the orchestra of glasnost, to arrive at an understanding of its deeper essence and to persistently master the requisite sophistication. It must be clear to everyone that just as democracy cannot exist at all and develop without relying on legality, so internal party democracy and glasnost become fact only when they are based on straightforwardly expressed principles and norms and implemented in the terms of those principles and norms.

The leader of the party noted even in his book *What Is To Be Done?* that the broad democratic principle "incorporates the following two indispensable conditions: first, full public scrutiny, and second, the elective nature of all official offices" (Vol 6, p 138). In advancing public scrutiny to the foreground, he related it inseparably to the other aspect of democracy. Public scrutiny and discussion of slates of candidates afford the possibility of authentically implementing the principle of elections, and that means implementing accountability of elected officials, and application of the universal elective principle serves as the source of information about leaders and elected bodies and about their activity.

Which accounts for Lenin's demand for decentralization of public scrutiny and responsibility in the party—a decentralization which was completely necessary even under the conditions of underground activity and the fiercest police repression. Without it there could have been no thought of democracy, of party comradeship, of leadership of the movement, of normal operation of party organizations on the basis of democratic centralism. Lenin spoke about this as a very important principle: "...If with respect to ideological and practical leadership of the movement and the revolutionary struggle of the proletariat the greatest possible centralization is necessary, with respect to information about the movement of the center of the party (and consequently of the entire party in general) and with respect to responsibility to the party, the greatest possible decentralization is necessary" (Vol 7, p 21).

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Unfortunately, party forums and the mass media do not always take this into account in their practical activity by any means. A lively flow of ideas, proposals, and critical assessment of the state of affairs in work collectives, rayons, cities, regions, sectors, and branches of the economy and their headquarters, in primary party organizations and party committees, in public structures, especially on matters of democratization, the introduction of cost accounting, self-financing, relations with higher official levels and with partners in cooperation, still goes to the very top, often bypassing the intermediate levels, which have not been activated as they should have been. Meanwhile the entire mechanism can function normally only provided glasnost is decentralized within the limits of each subsystem, at every level of leadership and administration. Only then will it really take on its inherent attributes, attributes which by definition are those that form the system, only then will it link together the entire sociopolitical system into a complex that operates without interruption.

In this context, reality has advanced quite a few specific problems that need to be solved, above all a readjustment and renewal of ideological-political and organizational connections in the party and in society. The state of these connections is causing concern on the part of many party members and those outside the party who in their creative daring have encountered the sharpened counteraction of adherence of conservatism and bureaucracy. Describing the results of reports of elective bodies on the leadership of restructuring, G. Razumovskiy has noted: "Party members are becoming convinced that it is not possible to count on the support of people if democracy and glasnost are to be fed 'in doses,' if command-order methods are retained, if paper shuffling and the vanity of speechifiers continues, if Soviet and economic bodies and public organizations are displaced" (PRAVDA, 23 April 1988).

But more often than not it is still evident that party work is lagging behind the rate of the transformations, behind the disposition of the masses, and this lag abounds in serious lapses in the shaping of public consciousness and a hitch in the pace of constructive activity. And one of the main reasons for this lag is the continuing underestimation of the importance of glasnost and the mass media by many party committees and other bodies of leadership. Judging by warnings received from the local level and the proposals pertaining to the general party conference, preliminary familiarization of the public with the materials of the plenums of party committees being prepared has not become the practice everywhere by any means, and often what is put up for the judgment of glasnost is too evasive and without substance and affords no food for thought and criticism.

At the same time, one observes an inability or reluctance on the part of many party committees to make proper use of the augmented activity of their own publishing

organs, while the workers address the central publications. As has been said at certain congresses of journalists, specifically in Lithuania, only criticism from above gets repeated. When it comes from below, even through the press, it is not considered shameful to ignore it, to intimidate the person who has washed dirty linen in public. Quite often the embarrassing people will be talked to, as they say, through party channels. Last year in Moscow, according to the figures of the party control commission of the Moscow City Committee of the CPSU, 56 percent of the appeals filed were granted; that is, the penalties pronounced by primary party organizations (which were followed by those of raykoms) were either reduced or vacated; 20 percent of the people expelled from the party (and appealing) were reinstated in the CPSU; many accusations proved to have been false (see MOSKOVSKAYA PRAVDA, 26 April 1988).

And yet another stroke in the general picture of discussion of the problem. Strange as it may seem, in the fight to establish glasnost and especially to overcome the silence at the local level, there has been practically no participation by the bulk of party leaders and the staff, although criticism of "party hacks" takes the form of defaming them, which long ago has been condemned and is impermissible. Party personnel (Lenin, following Marx and Engels, included journalists among them) represent the gold reserves of the political vanguard of the people.

So why is it that some people not only guide the delineation of views, but even take direct part in discussions and polemics, in changing the minds of those opposed to changes, while others imperturbably observe the kind of battle that is taking place among journalists, without "getting involved in it"? Do they really have nothing to say? That is not the case. The whole point is that the administrative-command system of operation, with its exceedingly rigid and very unique division of labor, which took shape and is still not yielding up its positions, has drawn an artificial and sometimes unpassable boundary between the party work of the journalist and the corresponding duty of party leaders and staff members, describing the natural aspiration to merge the two as the latter's abuse of their official position. The result, in our opinion, is a purely bureaucratic metamorphosis of concepts which were sufficiently clarified even by the classics of Marxism-Leninism.

Of course, it is not a question of lying in wait for yesterday's technical specialist, whose umbilical cord, to speak figuratively, has not yet been severed, to write an article on a humanitarian topic or to allow the humanist to rearrange certain instructions or decisions for a fee. The reader has sufficient material resulting from this kind of participation of "specialists" in the publishing process.

It is a question of making more purposive use of the creative energies of the party for their proper purpose, to extract from every act of the staff of the political purport,

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to find the appropriate forms of its expression. For example, by making adjustments in the system whereby superior party authorities inform those at the lower level and all party members about decisions that have been taken, and so on, this information ought to be disseminated and made more open to public scrutiny, and it should include reports on the basic issues and measures planned for consideration or performance over a certain period of time (the quarter, the half year, the year). Or: on the basis of a study of a particular problem and experience to prepare not a decree, for which often there is no need, but material for the press in the form of correspondence, articles, interviews, and so on.

In the twenties the journal IZVESTIYA TsK, for example, would make public the work schedules of the Central Committee and even of its departments, materials on the results of a study of topics at the local level, guidelines for compiling reports that would go to the center. Revival of such a practice would make it possible for party committees to significantly improve the organization of their own operation and to conduct it purposefully, without unnecessary crash efforts.

Finally, concerning the proposals which have been expressed and are essentially related to the practical assurance of decentralization of glasnost, to the introduction of the changes that have become necessary in the organizational mechanism of the party allegiance of the press, and to the more consistent implementation of democratic centralism. "In order to affirm the independence of the press from anyone's personal will," in the opinion of CPSU member A. Kaurov (Leningrad), "the editors of party newspapers should not be appointed, but should be elected by party congresses (conferences or assemblies) in the same way as the official bodies of the party, and they should be accountable solely to those who elected them" (see "Guarantees of a Party-Loyal Press," MOSKOVSKIYE NOVOSTI, 10 April 1988).

Arguments concerning this point coming from other authors and directly from certain editorial offices are more cautious and are mainly related to the fact that the development of glasnost is now being hindered by the administrative-ambitious positions of many party committees concerning their own periodicals, confining their criticism and the sphere of glasnost solely within the limits of lower official levels. That is, the possibility is allowed of specific bodies at that level being in opposition to one another. But how in this case will they arrive at agreement and how is the unity of action and organization and of the nonparty masses taking part in it to be guaranteed? Or is this not their concern?

Desires of a more particular nature have also been expressed, aimed at establishment and development of socialist pluralism of opinions and of the existing organizational forms of our press. In the plenum of the Leningrad City CPSU Committee, for example, there was discussion of the need to establish a system in which the editors of newspapers, television, and radio would

have to make public alternative arguments—not only criticism of the person involved or group of persons, but also the opinion of the person or persons being criticized....

Questions, questions—there is no end to them, and the motives behind them are evoked by the general aspiration for the boundlessness and numerosness of points of view natural to socialism. To reject this from the outset, associating it with anarchism, would be an unforgivable mistake. At the same time, we cannot forget that any organizational form, including the proposed status of the media and the change in the procedure for their interaction with party committees, is determined by the content of work. And in this case it must be in line with the spirit and tasks of restructuring, with the further consolidation of the party, and with renewal and development of our socialist system. And before we dwell on a particular version of the reorganization of the press (there is an evident need for it), we need to work out a corresponding organizational structure in specific detail and relative to present conditions. Starting from Leninist requirements as to unity in the main thing and diversity in detail, implementation of the party orientation of the press in possibly a more complete and integral form, it is important to see that at the same time we do not allow a stereotyped identification of the specific activity, which is less subject than other activities to mechanical equalization, leveling, and domination of the majority over the minority, with other parts of sociopolitical activity and the activity of the party. Lenin warned that "rigid stereotypes are the last thing you want in this area" (Vol 12, p 102).

It is obvious that the schematic approach, which comes into contradiction with democracy and the collectivist and choral nature of this activity, has been manifested in the organization of the operation of the press and in its leadership by party committees more today than before restructuring. The broadening and deepening of democracy as a whole, which rely on the pace-setting development of glasnost, demand removal of all barriers on the road toward its decentralization, elimination of attempts to truncate it and emasculate its nature, and they expose its utter incompatibility with bureaucratic procedures in relations of editorial offices with publishers, and with placement of the creative process into a rigid mold. It is all the more important to bear this in mind because Lenin, taking note of the democratic essence of glasnost and the particular attributes of the most effective and representative means of its expression, which possess unlimited abilities for ideological-political consolidation of people around the party line being followed, and that means capable of serving as an immense organizational apparatus, drew the conclusion even in the time of the Soviets that "the press is the center and foundation of political organization" (Vol 44, p 79). He was referring not so much to the structural aspect of the thing (at this point factors related to that aspect have mainly disappeared) as the functional aspect—the focusing and centralizing essence of the process of organization on a public and democratic basis.

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The classics of Marxism-Leninism repeatedly emphasized that the system for management of society (and even more of self-management under socialism and communism) is in need of an important element that would be political, that is, would fully meet the requirements of party allegiance and party policy, which is a science and an art that runs through all the spheres of the life of society. The mass media, which reflect in every aspect and personify the life of society, which connect every individual to the state and the entire world, figure as that element.

And if policy is the point of departure and basis for scientific management of society, then the press as its instrument can and must be in fact the point of departure, center, and basis of party influence in the masses, of the shaping and reflection of public opinion, of the ongoing reconstruction and strengthening of the unity of party members and all the workers, of their unification to perform specific tasks. At the same time, it is the most important means (along with internal party information) for self-regulation of the leading and the led or the managing and managed subsystems at all levels of the partywide and statewide mechanism. In this connection, Lenin's conclusion concerning the ideological and organizational capabilities of the press has not only not lost its importance, but, on the contrary, is becoming more relevant, is revealing the full depth of its ideological-political content and its meaning to practice and to revolutionary transformation.

First, the party-Soviet press, and under present conditions television and radio and the information-propaganda complex as a whole would be included, by guaranteeing the openness of the entire life and activity of the CPSU, constantly facilitate the reestablishment and additional nourishment of its democratic nature with fresh energies. At the same time, they make glasnost itself the leading aspect in a practical way of internal party democracy and comradeship, of the democratic character of its performance of its leading role.

Second, the press, by expressing glasnost most fully, is decisively guaranteeing the unification of the centralism of leadership with internal party democracy, the inseparable two-way connection of party bodies with primary party organizations and work collectives. As a consequence there is a more solid joining of social management to socialist democracy, to self-government of the people, and of representative democracy with the direct expression of the will of the masses.

Third, the press and the mass media, by establishing communication among all the components of the partywide and statewide mechanism and between each of them and the entire sociopolitical system, comprise that actual centralizing foundation that guarantees their interaction and the necessary subordination and functioning which are directed toward the creation and reconstruction of integrative attributes, the mobilization of all energies, and their unity of action.

The purpose of restructuring, as M.S. Gorbachev has said, is that it creates mechanisms which will regulate and self-adjust our society within the framework of a democratic process (see PRAVDA, 23 May 1988). The essence of these mechanisms, in our opinion, lies in combining the shaping system of glasnost with the elective nature of all positions in the party and state. That combination has already been expressed in the press' vigorous coverage of the course of the democratic election of the delegates of the upcoming All-Union Party Conference. But still this is one of the bottlenecks. In many cases, the subject of glasnost has been only the external appearance of things. The meaningful points, proposals, and critical remarks have quite often been bypassed in articles, above all in the local press, concerning the preliminary discussion of the slates of candidates in primary party organizations and in the plenums of party obkoms themselves.

In practice, the mass media have not ascended to performance of their function as the center and basis of political organization, quite often being transformed into a formal appendage of the apparatus of party committeees, or, on the contrary, voluntarily or involuntarily setting themselves up in opposition to them, which under the present rules is not permissible. The conflicts that arise are resolved, as is well-known, by the superior authorities, and those who are called upon to guide the press have not always turned out to be right. But usually disagreements go through a latent development and are not resolved because of the organizational defectiveness of relations.

Would it not be better, if just as an experiment, to officially pronounce a "divorce," that is, to make the lower levels of the press, and then perhaps even the higher ones, to use the words of Engels, formally independent party publications, more accurately, subject to the oversight of the organization as a whole as represented by its superior body and the superior body of the party.

In principle, it would hardly be advisable to introduce such a unified system in order to raise the status of the publications, especially central publications. Our historical experience indicates that even when editors are approved in plenums, and still more when they are elected to the membership of bureaus of party committees, a high level of performance can be guaranteed. It is another matter whether these personnel are responsible for the job assigned them: What kind of responsibility is it, and what should it be? Ultimately, in fact, the editor is accountable to the bureau, less frequently he is made accountable in the plenum of the committee, and still less frequently called to account in the conference or congress.

That is why we should perhaps hear reports from the editorial boards of central publications concerning the work they have done on restructuring to supplement the

basic agenda even at the upcoming general party conference. This would make it possible to rivet the attention of the entire party on the mass media, to advance the policy of glasnost, and to lay bear the mechanism of true democracy and subject it to further improvement. Later, the same procedure might be followed at the local level, during the regular report-election campaign in the party.

Discussion of the Theses of the CPSU Central Committee for the 19th All-Union Party Conference, which were approved by the May (1988) Plenum of the Central Committee of the CPSU, has now been organized in party organizations and among all the workers. There is no doubt that this will help in critical reassessment of the processes of restructuring, in drawing the lessons, and in making recommendations on adjustments to solve the problems of intensifying the economic reform and democratizing the party and society.

Glasnost is undoubtedly in the first rank of the concepts expressing the essence and mechanism for developing democracy in the party and society. Only by persistently asserting, strengthening, and broadening glasnost in party, state, and social affairs is it possible to set in motion the deepest reserves of internal party democracy and socialist democracy, thereby enhancing the initiative and responsibility of members and candidates for membership in the CPSU and all the workers and to support a strong ideological and organizational relationship within the party and in society. That stands as a pledge to increasing the ability of party organizations to fight and to carry out restructuring successfully.

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KGB Party Members Make Proposals for Conference Discussion

18120091 Moscow MOSCOW NEWS in English No 27,
10-17 Jul 88 p 13

[Article from "At Our Readers' Request" column—first paragraph printed in bold print]

[Text] "I have been paying close attention to what people have been proposing in connection with the 19th Party Conference. But I have yet to come across a proposal

from anyone in the KGB. It is important that Soviet people know, especially now, what communists from the State Security Committee are thinking." Ye. P. Samsonov, industrial designer (Moscow)

We recently visited the Moscow City CPSU Committee where Muscovites' suggestions forwarded to the pre-Conference meetings have been being collected. Here are a few of the proposals made at recent KGB Party meetings.

- publish Lenin's previously unpublished works;
- make decisions that result in serious economic losses or damage to the environment a criminal, Party and administrative offence, punishable under the law;
- allow schools, societies or clubs for the study of any Soviet national language anywhere in the country to be set up;
- condemn zionism and antisemitism as equally threatening to socialist ideology;
- make public the extent and nature of Soviet economic aid to foreign countries, and the effect of that aid;
- draft guarantees against arbitrary explanations of socialist pluralism—drafters should include top Soviet sociologists, philosophers, legal experts and other scholars.

Incidentally, equally interesting proposals have been made by communists in law-enforcement agencies. Communists in the Ministry of Internal Affairs suggested that militia guard posts inside Party and government buildings and ministries be removed, thus freeing up militiamen to fight crime.

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Servicemen Respond to Conference Theses
18000478 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian
29 May 88 p 1

[Major I. Sas talks to party members in unit X: "We Have Faith in the Success of Perestroyka"]

[Text] **Correspondent:** Vladimir Antonovich, I see your notes on the margin of the published CPSU Central Committee theses. Would you care to comment on them?

Lt Colonel V. Tsviliy, unit commander: What excites the serviceman the most? Naturally, problems related to the defense of the fatherland. In the theses, the party's Central Committee formulates this question as follows: Henceforth the efficiency of Soviet military building must be ensured primarily on the basis of qualitative parameters, in terms of both equipment and personnel. In practical terms, what does this mean to us? It means attaining a new quality level in combat training; take from the equipment all it can give; and enhance work with the people to a level which will ensure the total freedom of initiative. All of this urgently calls for reviewing the current work style and the search for more efficient ways of solving problems of combat readiness and discipline.

Correspondent: I know that you have already exchanged with others views on the theses. What did you discuss?

Major A. Karlin, deputy unit commander: We believe that problems of defense building and the armed forces must be paid the greatest possible attention at the party conference, for here as well, today we need a well thought-out and efficiently regulated restructuring platform which would exclude the possibility that imperialist circles may attain military superiority.

Correspondent: You must have also acquired some deeply personal impressions from this document, for it affects all aspects of our life.

Lt. Colonel V. Tsviliy: Naturally it contains things which irritate. I read that "the rehabilitation of those who in the past were the victims of groundless political accusations and illegalities is our party duty," and I think: What a pity that we undertake to fulfill this duty after such a long delay. The war was already over when my father was declared an "enemy of the people." He had spent a lifetime serving the people, and all of a sudden he was an "enemy." He was rescued by S.A. Kovpak, the commander of a partisan formation, famous throughout the country. He knew my father from the partisan movement.

We must restore the honor, dignity and good name of people who, although innocent, fell victim to illegality. If this could not be accomplished during their lifetime, this

terrible suspicion must be lifted from their children or grandchildren. I vote in favor of this party line with both hands, and I believe that I will have the support of many people.

Major A. Karlin. Your family was not the only to be affected by this wave of repressions. During the time of collectivization my grandfather refused to join a kolkhoz and was exiled. This was a tragedy for him and his family. What numerous such tragedies were there all over the country, all concealed behind the slogan of the struggle for socialism. That is why I have adopted as my personal conviction the thought expressed in the theses that to us the question not only of the objectives and values of socialism but also the means of achieving them and of the human cost they extract is by no means indifferent to us.

Correspondent: Today society would like to be given reliable guarantees which would exclude the very possibility of this happening again. These guarantees include the democratization of all areas of social life. The theses offer a program for the intensification and development of these processes. What is your reaction to them?

Lt Colonel V. Tsviliy: As commander I frequently have to deal with the local soviets. Many problems are being solved with great difficulty. Here is a simple example from ordinary life: We have no bathing facilities. This created difficulties. In order to resolve them I had to address myself to the party raykom. I cannot say that the people there were unwilling to help us. The soviets have gradually lost their rights. They are not masters of their territory. The power must be returned to the soviets. Through their representatives, the people must feel that they control the situation.

Captain V. Zhevnerov: I remember my student years and elections to local soviets. I can honestly say that I did not feel that I was participating in a governmental affair. To the leadership what mattered most was to report on time and to see to it that there were no excesses whatsoever. As to who was elected, that was something which should not concern us. Some times we had not even laid eyes on the candidates. I believe that at the all-Union conference such questions must be considered in all details.

Correspondent: Naturally, we look at the ideas related to democratization also as refracted through army reality. What do you consider particularly important in this respect?

Major V. Troshin, unit party buro secretary: It is still difficult to instill the simple thought that democratization does not undermine the foundations of one-man command but, conversely, strengthens them. We had the following case: In last year's elections for the unit's Komsomol committee secretary, the Komsomol members rejected the nomination of an officer, a nomination which had been approved on all levels. They nominated their own candidate. We accepted this calmly. As time

passed, we realized that the Komsomol members had been right and that they had made the right choice. Yet how troublesome could have this situation become had we started to apply pressure, to threaten and to persuade. That is how life is. Our line should be one of fewer preconceptions and greater trust in people.

Correspondent: A great deal is being said in the theses about openness and glasnost in party life. Here is a question for you, as party buro secretary, with something hidden between the lines: When was the last open party meeting in the unit?

Major V. Troshin: On your way out, look at the announcement: the meeting we intend to hold soon will be open, as have been, incidentally, most meetings held this year. Therefore, perestroyka is making its corrections. As a rule, we invite party and nonparty members to attend the buro sessions as well. We do not have to be talked into it, for we have realized by ourselves the usefulness of this practice. The theses confirm the accuracy of this line although, naturally, a great deal more must be done for democracy and glasnost to become the law of our life.

Correspondent: How did the party members react to the idea of the sociopolitical certification of party members as a means of the party's self-cleansing and strengthening?

Senior Ensign D. Levashev: My only concern on this matter is for this measure not to be belittled or reduced to verbiage in the local areas. At this point we must have our say, and approach such certification with updated criteria, for membership still includes many unsuitable people who sneaked into the party.

Correspondent: Does a feeling of inner disagreement with some of the proposals included in the thesis develop in some?

Major Grechka: Let me mention the restriction concerning the holding of elective party positions for two consecutive terms. This is a proper and very necessary measure. What I fail to understand is something else: What is then the purpose of the stipulation about a third term? Would this not provide a loophole for promoting the old approach? Many of the laws we have passed work poorly precisely because of an abundance of all sorts of stipulations and "however."

As a whole, this document strengthens the conviction of the irreversibility of change. I judge this by the mood of my comrades. It instills in us faith in perestroyka and is becoming its efficient instrument.

Reader Wants New Bodies for Defending Public Interests

*18000412a Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA
in Russian 29 May 88 p 3*

[Article by A. Prazdnikov, special-pension recipient, candidate of historical sciences, former secretary of the party's Saratov Obkom, under rubric "Towards the 19th All-Union Party Conference": "Teaching That Which Is New By Using a Live Example"]

[Text] There has been a sharp change in life and in the responsibility for it. As long ago as Stalin's time, I began to develop as a party worker. I traveled the path from raykom secretary to obkom secretary. Under Khrushchev I was a participant of the 20th and 22nd party congresses. Under Brezhnev also I was present many times at major conferences at the Central Committee. Looking back at my rather long path, I see myself as a person who listened and who executed orders. So, now, when I ought to be taking it easy, there has been some kind of new surge of energy in me—there has been an increase in the sense of responsibility for what I have lived through and what is currently being done. I could have done a lot in my day if I had been bold and taken initiative. Could have? Because, somehow, I just can't include myself among the cowards. This belated self-consciousness, this fixed glance at oneself, keeps burning and gives no rest. My mind and my soul have never been so strained before. How can I make better use of my experience, my knowledge of the present and the life that I have lived through?...

The three years after April 1985 provide a solid basis for further interpretation of the entire complexity of our time. Perestroyka as a policy is still going through the stage of introduction. Many people, especially in the outlying areas, have not yet realized that this is not the latest in a series of partial dismantlings, but an extraordinary deep-rooted reform that was dictated by objective circumstances—we are living differently, and we are conducting business differently. And although, among the majority, the propagandistic persistence and consistency of the party guidance have been receiving broad approval and profound human understanding, one begins to be alarmed by a certain dragging out of the process that was begun. Time has been shortened. It either runs very quickly when you think of how many ideas have already been expressed, or it suddenly seems that it is standing still, when you evaluate realistically what has occurred around you.

Obviously, much still requires explanation, convincing, and, most important, the specific actions of everyone, and all the combined actions in the outlying areas. Therefore the emphasis is shifted to the practical results. We ought not to linger at this stage. Sometimes you notice sadly that a verbal maelstrom still prevails, and the threat of "just talking perestroyka," that M. S.

Gorbachev warned about at one time, is not being eliminated. Life strictly dictates the requirement—accelerate the work of reorganizing it.

The unrest, in my opinion, is substantiated. We have become accustomed to seeing and hearing about the competitiveness among oblasts, krays, and regions. Someone is always leading, things are turning out better for someone, everyone is pulling himself up to someone's level. But what about now? In the outlying areas there continues to be a large number of party and soviet leaders, but why is it that none of them has dashed into the lead? Everyone knows of the victories achieved by the people of Penza, Belgorod, or Norilsk. But I am talking about something else. Whose personal energy made it possible to achieve a breakthrough on the stagnation front, so that in the oblast or the region a broad-scale transformational process began in the economic and in social and spiritual life?

The delay in organization at the start of the second stage of perestroika causes concern and distracts our people's minds. A large number of interesting ideas have been expressed. I would like to dwell on one that also concerns us former party-political workers.

This idea can be summarized as the attempt to find the organizational form that effectively influences the rate of perestroika. People talk of the need to create certain new social organizations—arbitrarily calling them "perestroika support groups"—that would reflect public opinion, that would make it known to the authorities, and that would make sure that that public opinion was taken into consideration, or calling them "a democratic union of socialist development," and that union and its links would operate under party guidance, but would have the right and the opportunity to criticize the practical aspects of carrying out the party's keynote decisions and of the observance of legality. And of assuring that the party committees and the soviets of people's deputies, and the administrative apparatus, are not excluded from its zone of criticism. I shall not go into a detailed analysis of these proposals. The one thing that is obvious is that they were evoked by patriotic feelings, by concern for helping perestroika.

We have exchanged opinions with comrades who spent a considerable amount of time in party work, and we have come to the conclusion: we ought not to carry out these proposals at the present time. Recently several new democratic organizational structures have been created in our country. It is still necessary to get them all working properly.

At the present time it is important to include in the organization of perestroika, for the purpose of giving it a new impetus, that which we have and to do this under the party's guidance. The party developed the concept of perestroika, and it is organizing its implementation. In

this regard there arises the proposal: take steps to assure that in one, two, or three oblasts the perestroika process takes on the nature of something in the lead.

In our opinion, for this purpose it is necessary to create a powerful, comprehensive multitarget group headed by a Politburo member. It could include the best-qualified specialists—organizers of all branches of the national economy and culture, up to and including first deputy ministers, Gosplan, Gossnab, and representatives of the academies and other departments. The differentiating features of the workers included in the group would be their professional attitude, time-responsiveness, and high moral qualities. Obviously, the makeup of the group would also require considerable party-political forces, workers on the ideological front, and skilled propagandists.

It might be a good idea to send that kind of group, say, to Gorkiy, Yaroslavl, Kursk, or some other oblast (it would be preferable to choose an oblast where the perestroika has been spinning its wheels) for a prolonged period of time, perhaps a year, or even longer. It could be given broad powers, and could be made an understudy of USSR Council of Ministers for the particular oblast. It would seem that for the present-day situation it is already becoming inadequate to have Politburo members make trips to the outlying areas in order to become acquainted with or establish a brief contact with individual groups of people. It would be beneficial in a specific manner to demonstrate, of course, in joint work with the cadres in the outlying areas, how it is necessary to carry out the perestroika as a single entity and also in the specific details from which the living organism of the oblast or region is formed.

In numerous documents in the outlying areas one can see a rather large number of good decisions. And it will be necessary to study the forms of their implementation that they have developed into. Much here could be suggested to the local organizations by a proposed group, the so-called "practice group" or "center group."

In its work, in our opinion, we shall see the manifestation of a new function—the discerning of all that is best in the country and the transferring of it to the group's work area. Also, that which will show up in this respect at the "center group" can rapidly become the property of the entire country.

Why does it seem to us that it is precisely this form that is needed? The fact of the matter is that the sociopolitical, administrative problems to a large extent are analogous everywhere, and the specific untying of the knots and elimination of dead ends simultaneously and completely, going beyond the confines of a particular oblast, is capable of causing a good chain reaction throughout the Union. One will be able to detect those points of juncture between departments that have chopped up the union economy into pieces and have created duplication, senseless counterships, and the

nonfulfillment of contracts. Possibly in many instances it will be necessary to perform surgery instead of therapy. In addition it will be possible to see clearly that which does not lie on the surface, but that requires specifically new ideas and approaches.

This "Moscow campaign" into the lower levels would considerably encourage the growth of awareness and responsibility would discover new people, new cadres, and would encourage their self-revelation in order to replace those persons who are unsuitable and to give additional training, or retraining, to those who can still use it.

It would seem that this work will suggest many things both to the Politburo members and the CPSU Central Committee as a whole, and to our entire Soviet system of administration and organization. It is very important, if one continues this thought, for the CPSU Central Committee and the USSR Council of Ministers to consider time-responsively that which will be acquired as the experience of perestroika in the particular oblast or region. We assume that this thoroughness, aggressiveness, and consistency would teach the perestroika to all links in the party and the soviets, and would extinguish the elements of distrust and demagoguery that are naturally manifesting themselves currently, while perestroika is largely limping along. Pointing out with one, two, or three examples how the bureaucratic management style can be converted into a truly democratic style means making perestroika invincible and accelerating its rate.

5075

PRAVDA Readers Discuss Economic Reforms, Cadres
WA1800039 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 1 Jun 88
First Edition p 3

[Letters from readers under the rubric "We Discuss the CPSU Central Committee Theses"; italics as published]

[Text] Alternative to the Ministry [subhead]

I am very concerned about the selection of the way of restructuring economic management. The role of ministries and departments remains not fully understandable. After all, the Law on the State Enterprise proclaims the independence of labor collectives from ministries. Nor do the CPSU CC Theses clarify this matter completely.

Self-administration and self-financing give labor collectives the right to solve many production problems. Why then do we maintain the huge apparatus, which has now become useless and at times even harmful? In order to pay tribute to "respected people"? After all, the ministry cannot help commanding and interfering. There people will not want to realize that one can manage completely without them. Therefore, as any useless body, it will try to prove its "importance."

In general, an efficient antibureaucratic mechanism is needed. For example, instead of hundreds of committees, administrations, and ministries, we could establish an economic information center, including in it the most important elements of services of Gosplan, Gossnab, the State Committee for Statistics, and other departments and restructuring them fundamentally. This center will not be a collection of "commands," but a bank of data, recommendations, and so forth. Every enterprise, if it wants this, will present the necessary report on its activity, including in it the assortment of output, quantity, prices, plans, and so forth. The center will help to select the optimal production variant, the consumer's address, and the type of product and will give recommendations on the application of a certain invention, change in prices, and other important economic information.

Naturally, information should require payment. This will stimulate the center's work according to the principle "more deeds with small forces." Furthermore, an enterprise will be able to "sell" the developed efficiency proposal or an invention at a profit to the center, which will sell it to interested clients.

S. Dymskiy, fifth course student at the Forestry Engineering Academy, Leningrad

Debtors...by Order

The success of restructuring in localities largely depends on how central departments carry it out. We agree with the idea expressed in the CPSU CC Theses and the 19th all-union party conference: "Restructuring at the level of sectorial ministries obviously lags behind restructuring at enterprises." It is almost a year and a half since the USSR Ministry of the Automotive Industry transferred us to self-financing. It did this like throwing a man not able to swim into water.

We turned to PRAVDA for help and at the end of last year the newspaper published the material "Profit...Under Snow" about our disastrous situation. After that the ministry helped in something, but the plant continued to be in a difficult situation, especially with respect to the provision with accessories. In 4 months we did not receive, in particular, from the Leningrad Carburetor Plant imeni Kuybyshev, 11,125 carburetors and, naturally, we underdelivered consumer goods—spare parts—worth R2.5 million.

The disorganization in production and disruption in the labor rhythm lead to the necessity of working before and after lessons and on days off and holidays. People are dissatisfied and the turnover and outflow of manpower from the plant are growing.

How are we to engage in self-financing if, according to work results, in 4 months of this year we paid R200,000 of fines and obtained R150,000 of profit less than envisaged? Over R1 million less than envisaged from the turnover were given to the state budget.

The enterprise's trade-union conference asked minister N. Pugin and A. Kashirin, chairman of the Trade-Union Central Committee, to give concrete help in improving deliveries from the enterprises of the USSR Ministry of the Automotive Industry, primarily from the Leningrad Carburetor Plant. However, matters are not moving yet.

The following words also appear in the CPSU CC Theses: "It is necessary to condemn uncompromisingly actions that distort the essence of the economic reform and directly or indirectly undermine the Law on the Enterprise." We would like to propose: Not only to condemn, but also to strictly punish those that act in this manner.

M. Marchenko, G. Semenova, A. Prus, and other representatives of the labor collective at the motorcycle plant, Kiev

To Look After the Manager

I often have occasion to deal with economic managers. In their majority they are exceptionally decent, honest, and industrious people. They are deeply devoted to the cause of our party and the state. They possess quite high erudition and skills.

A shocking figure—18 million—settled in the minds of many of us. Not long ago the State Committee for Statistics made it more precise: 17,718,000. So many workers in our country are employed in the administrative apparatus. It goes without saying that the army of managers is big. A part of them can and should be reduced. However, upon closer familiarization with the essence of the matter it becomes clear that the basic apparatus of economic management bodies (all-union and republic industrial associations, trusts, and so forth) comprises 0.6 million people, that is, about 5 percent. The main material values in our society are created with their direct participation. The bulk of the conductors (according to K. Marx's figurative comparison), who do their utmost so that musicians (workers) play less out of tune, that is, work better, are concentrated in these 5 percent. As we know, quite a great deal depends on the conductor.

How do these conductors-managers live? Who are they? How did they get to head the orchestra-collective? We raised these and other questions in the course of a special investigation among economic managers.

To the question "If you were to start everything from the beginning, would you have liked to be a manager?" one-third of them gave a negative answer.

This is explainable. The present manager works essentially under extreme conditions until he is worn out—on the one hand, a lack (at least at first) of experience in practical work and of special managerial training and a gradual disqualification as a specialist and, on the other, a steady increase in demands.

Means of mass information also have their effect. Everyone is talking about the published articles on abuses on the part of managers. They cause a completely justified indignation. Unfortunately, the ominous shadow of the "heroes" of these published articles is cast on many thousands of honest people, whose contribution to our economic development is vast. It is already difficult to find a person for the position of a shop chief and even a plant director. Then how can we talk at all about the selection of managers? After all, a selection is preference given to one out of two candidacies or more. And what if not only two do not exist, but even one does not exist?

According to the data of medical science, the risk factor for getting a heart attack has occupied the first place among directors and chairmen recently. Therefore, let us together look after managers. Their talent and health are public property.

V. Travin, candidate of philosophical sciences, Moscow

A Superfluous Link?

All those that closely followed the course of party committee plenums analyzing bureau work on the management of restructuring, to be sure, noticed that quite often they discussed the following situation: Two rayons are located next to each other and hardly differ in the conditions and material base of production and labor resources, but the results are different. At times the difference is significant. What is the secret here?

Party members most often drew the following conclusion: It lies in the different level of party management and organizational and political work of party committees. Analyzing the method of this work, as a rule, participants in plenums did not disregard sectorial committee departments either. A great deal of sharp criticism was leveled at them and the question whether they were needed at all was raised. Is this not a superfluous link? It seems that with due regard for this the CPSU CC Theses stated the need to make changes in the structure and composition of the party apparatus.

If we go back to rural raykoms, there the sectorial department, usually, is one—agricultural. What does practice show here? We shall try to generalize it on the basis of a study of numerous published addresses at and materials of the mentioned plenums, which discussed the work on restructuring, and the sociological research on this topic recently conducted by us. The research was conducted in 12 regions in the country, in such large

party organizations as those in Khabarovsk and Krasnoyarsk krays and in Kirov, Sverdlovsk, Tula, Chelyabinsk, and Ulyanov Oblasts, as well as in a number of rayon party organizations in the Ukraine, Kazakhstan, and Moldavia.

The introduction of collective, lease, and family contracts and the mastering of advanced innovations in production are now the urgent concerns of rural areas. How, in the opinion of those questioned, do agricultural departments contribute to this? Only 10.9 percent of the raykom secretaries consider their work on the introduction of intensive technologies satisfactory. Only one out of 11 (9.3 percent) spoke positively about the effect of departments on the application of new equipment in plant growing and animal husbandry. Many activists are convinced that raykoms should deal more with personnel work, the preparation of a reserve, control and check of the execution of adopted decisions, and increase in the activity of party members in production. At the same time, they persistently advise that raykoms give up day-to-day, in any form whatsoever, work on the management of economic affairs, not prescribe what to do and when, and not prepare compulsory orders. Sectorial departments, most of all, sin with this, pushing the committee into the old rut.

The participants in the questionnaire stress that without new approaches to work with people raykoms will hardly be able to affect restructuring in the economy actively and to uncover the potential inherent in the new forms of management in a full volume. Adopting them, kolkhozes and sovkhozes will try to manage things not the way someone not directly involved in this likes and not the way this is advantageous for the report, but according to the laws of cost accounting and technical progress. Having no other choice, the committee will have to find methods of helping them in this. Apparently, the wishes of party members to give rayon party committees more independence in the solution of problems concerning the structure of the apparatus within the framework of a certain wage fund and general staffs are not devoid of common sense. Let them themselves decide for what period and for what purpose they need a sectorial department.

Ye. Okhotskiy, head of a department at the Academy of Social Sciences under the CPSU Central Committee

Young People Respond to CPSU CC Theses
18000405a Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 2 Jun 88 p 1

[Letters from Readers: What Is Your Position? We Continue the Debate on the CPSU Central Committee Theses for the 19th Party Conference"]

[Excerpts] Questions for the Delegate

1. What will you defend at the conference?

2. Against what will you object decisively?

3. What would you personally like to propose?

Ye. Solomatina, seamstress at the Frunze "40 let Oktyabrya" Sewn GoodsFactory.

1. The thesis about perestroyka in the work of the trade unions and their independence. The trade union should really safeguard the interests of the working class and not be at the beck and call of the party committees. There are hundreds of problems here that everyone knows about but no one resolves. Just take female labor, which is dominant at our enterprise. We work on an equal footing with the men, in three shifts, but many of us have poor housing, and some of us have many children who take much time and effort. But for some reason we think about this very little. In my view, the issues of female labor must be resolved immediately.

2. The Theses define the term for holding elected posts—no more than 10 years. But a provision for exceptions is made in this rule. This puts us on our guard. It is not far from these kinds of exceptions to people who have performed exceptional services who are allowed to do what other people cannot. I think that all stipulations on this subject should be removed: two terms is quite enough for a person to display his capabilities and to realize them.

3. There are too many leaders. Our republic is small but has four whole oblasts, and at the end of the period of stagnation there were plans to form a fifth as well. Now two oblasts will be abolished, and that is a good thing. But it is not only a question of oblasts. There are four rayons in Frunze and each of them has a raykom. Above them we have the party gorkom. Ten steps more take us to the party central committee. Many people are involved in this and they do much work that is unnecessary. But what if in cities like ours we leave just the administrative section and concentrate party leadership in the hands of the gorkom? Perhaps then there will be no need for the raykoms? I would like to introduce this kind of proposal for consideration by the conference.

V. Butko, first secretary of the Donetsk Komsomol obkom.

1. We need a Youth state program that would provide for the concentration of efforts by all organizations connected directly or indirectly with youth questions, the clear-cut prospects for solving youth problems, and the allocation of additional funding for this when the country's budget is drawn up. And there should not be any scrimping and saving... After all, the present alienation of most young people from the political life of society is the result of former economies made at the expense of their interests. We probably do not need another organ; what I have in mind is a proposal to set up a State Committee for Youth Affairs. What is needed is to let the Komsomol Central Committee exercise its

rights. Decisions by leading Komsomol organs should be mandatory on all departments and organizations in matters affecting the interests of young people.

2. Against the consumerist attitude toward the Komsomol on the part of the economic, soviet and party organs. Against the attitude that we are a "children's" organization not to be taken seriously, an organization that can be ordered about and used to plug all possible kinds of gaps.

3. It is essential to enhance the role of the Komsomol in the soviets. I propose that Komsomol groups be legitimized in the soviets right up to the Supreme Soviet and that the status of the Komsomol group within the soviet be defined.

A. Datashvili, brigade leader at the Tbilinnelstroy Administration

1. Revival of the Leninist idea of worker-peasant control. Today a fundamentally new, independent organ is needed. The main thing is to insure its independence from all sides.

2. I am against admission to the party "by quota." The Theses mention this. Unfortunately, however, nothing is said about the fact that our elections also are held according to a quota system. Our republic newspapers have criticized the proposed contingent of conference delegates. They are made up of people who are well known and meritorious, congress delegates, and senior deputies. But there were almost no new names. They have asked me the following: Is perestroika possible without renewal? I do not want to offend anyone; I myself have been a deputy and a delegate more than once. But the position of the party committees responsible for the campaign to appoint delegates can be clearly traced. The disposition of forces is as before: mainly party and economic leaders and very few representatives of the intelligentsia. Few middle-level specialists. The dissatisfaction of the public is justified; what is important now is not rank or profession; what is needed is people with teeth and boldness.

3. I shall not go against my conscience and my heart. I shall be for open discussion of the problems.

At this time I have no specific proposals.

The Questions for the Reader

1. Which delegates do you think have the most constructive position?

2. With whom and what do you disagree?

3. What would you like to propose?

V.N. Dyadyk, economist, Donetsk.

I think that it is essential to report via the party press which members of the Central Committee Buro and Central Committee secretaries are fulfilling which obligations and who is responsible for specific issues. The people should also know who of them has advanced which proposals and what position they are defending. Glasnost is needed here. We are only now starting to learn what kind of disposition of forces existed among the country's leadership in the Twenties! I also propose that the right of a citizen of the USSR to receive an answer to something that interests him from any competent state organ should be legitimized.

Thirteen people support the Theses concerning the extension of glasnost and the impermissibility of secrecy of party life. O.P. Nikolayev from Moscow State University proposes that "this thesis be confirmed in deeds by relaying the party conference without any kind of deletions or cuts on the No 8 technical television channel so that delegates know that the people are watching them." Armen Petrosan, a student at Yerevan Polytechnical Institute, thinks that the opinion according to which materials from Central Committee plenums should not be published is untenable because this prevents members of the central committee from openly expressing their own views. "What need have we of leaders who are afraid to speak out to people? I think that it is possible to relay directly many meetings of the Central Committee, Politburo, Supreme Soviet Presidium and Council of Ministers."

T. Khubayev, a setter-up at the Moscow Automobile Plant imeni Leninskiy Komsomol

I hope that at the party conference a course will be set toward rejuvenating leading cadres. Today it is so difficult for a young person to be appointed to a responsible post that most young people do not even try.

V. Pochivalov, a student in Izhevsk

The Theses talk about protecting citizens' rights and the real guarantee of constitutional freedoms. The paragraph on nationality in the passport is a scandalous violation of basic democratic norms. This item is also in all questionnaires, including work applications. Why is this?

Some 26 people expressed themselves in favor of holding a national referendum before the adoption of any major decision. Here, many emphasized that the recently adopted law on national debate of the most important issues is not working since the term "national debate" is very vague. What is needed is a strict legal procedure for a referendum (L. Rotman, Leningrad). Five people are in favor of making provision for the holding of referendums on questions of war and peace—"particularly in situations like Afghanistan" (A. Kasimov, Gorkiy).

A.Ya. Zyryanov, scientific worker at the militia school, Kiev

It is common knowledge that matters of corruption are most difficult, the more so when major leaders are involved in. I propose that an amnesty be proclaimed for all those leaders who plead guilty and voluntarily make retribution to the state for harm caused so that in this case they will not be subjected to criminal prosecution.

Ye.L. Ligun, manager of a rayon bank office, Moscow

While ministers still receive a set salary rather than a wage depending on the results of activity in the sector it will be difficult to get rid of the bureaucrats in the ministries and departments. An example: it was decided long ago to switch the banks to cost accounting, but up to now the ministry has been delaying this with endless procrastination. Meanwhile until the banks switch to cost accounting (as in all other developed countries) it is difficult to expect cost accounting throughout industry and agriculture. There is more. I would like to share my own long-held doubts. I do not know whether you will think this a suitable subject and publish it. It seems to me that the Mausoleum where that great man lies has been turned into a spectator stand.

An absolute majority considers that the period of authority for persons elected to party and state organs should be limited to two terms, with no exceptions. Two people propose that an opportunity be left open for M.S. Gorbachev personally to be elected to a third term. Student A. Nikonorov thinks that even in this case, there should be no exception: "We have become so accustomed to the idea that our leaders occupy their posts for life that we are simply afraid of any other kind of procedure in which, however, there is nothing strange if we just think about it. Regular replacement of the leadership is a democratic norm." Twelve people propose that an age limit be set for candidates for leading positions (55, 60 or 65 years old). They also favor elections to the party and soviets only on a competitive basis, with several candidates standing for one position. Four people propose that elections in the party be conducted by direct secret vote. Two people think that any elected person may be recalled from his post. "Up to now no one has used this right because in practice it is impossible to do it. It is necessary to devise a simple and clear-cut procedure and mechanism specially for this."

V.S. Shevrygin, member of the CPSU since 1919

I propose that we remember the idea from the 22nd CPSU Congress to build a memorial to the victims of Stalin's repression.

K. Mamilov, engineer, Gomel Oblast

I fully support the provision in the Theses on delineating the functions of party and soviet organs. In my opinion this provision should also be extended to the highest element of management. Why does the Politburo, for example, give direct orders to the Council of Ministers and the soviets?

"All power to the soviets!" A majority supports this thought from the Theses.

A. Fedorov, student

We praised Stalin and then we abused him. It is the same with Khrushchev and Brezhnev. It is plain that there is nothing good in this cycle. Today it is virtually impossible even to imagine public criticism of the general secretary. I respect Mikhail Sergeyevich but I think that for the sake of success in his policy he should not be above criticism. Only then will the provisions in the Theses about freedom of speech and freedom of discussion be more than empty sounds.

To the Point

Of all those telephoning to discuss the Theses, 76 percent were at home, 86 percent were with colleagues or work comrades, and up to now none have been at a meeting.

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SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA Readers Discuss Theses

18000438a Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA
in Russian 3 Jun 88 p 1

[Readers letters: "Renewing Life Step by Step"]

[Excerpts]

To Continue Direct Dialogue

Of course, perestroika is first and foremost a matter for our society, a task for the people. But I read the CPSU Central Committee Theses for the 19th All-Union Party Conference carefully and this is what I thought. They were published by the press 2 days before Mikhail Sergeyevich's meeting with Ronald Reagan in Moscow. Remember that the Theses talk about the need for perestroika in the kind of foreign policy that would reflect its humane essence. I think that the work done in Moscow in these days fully meets our interests and the aims of international peace.

In the last but one year of the war I was still a teenager and worked in the port at Arkhangelsk. I remember well how fine those days were; at the end of May and the very beginning of June we twice played soccer with the sailors on the Anglo-American convoys. Later I had to read and listen to much about America that laid heavily on my heart and memory. But the recollection of the friendship and sense of alliance always remained alive.

The Theses for the party conference state that dialogue has become the distinguishing feature in the style of our foreign policy. It was precisely dialogue that was conducted in those days in Moscow, the kind in which both

parties listen to and understand each other. I think that the results strengthen hopes and that no one can prevent us from restructuring our country and our society.

V. Sasoyev, Lytkarino, Moscow Oblast.

"Secret"—from Whom?

In my opinion there ought to be less paper stamped "secret." Now, whenever you pick up even a raykom resolution it has this stamp on it.

I recall that at one party conference they gave us booklets containing statistics. I found nothing secret in them (they were figures on housing construction, indicators characterizing the work of public health and so forth), but when leaving the hall they demanded that we return the booklets. I admit that I did not turn it in: I wanted to use it as an aid in propaganda work. Later they found it and demanded that I give up the "secret" booklet.

If I have an opportunity to speak from the platform of the party conference I shall call on communists to revive in full measure the atmosphere of openness in intraparty life that the CPSU Central Committee Theses talk about.

V. Gorbatin, leader of a brigade of lathe operators at the Kaluga Machinebuilding Plant, delegate to the 19th All-Union Party Conference.

Deputies According to Position?

I think that it is high time to change in a radical way the principles employed in the formation of the soviets. At this time almost 40 percent of the deputies to the USSR Supreme Soviet are there according to position held—leading workers in the CPSU Central Committee, the union republics, the party kraykoms, obkoms and gorkoms, the Council of Ministers, the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium and the supreme soviet presidiums of the union republics, the Armed Forces and so forth. This on the one hand.

And on the other side—what is arbitrarily called the "lower contingent"—an obvious distortion in the disproportionately broad representation for distinguished seamstresses, weavers, milkmaids, hog raisers and vegetable growers... And this with an undoubtedly shortage of representatives from the scientific, creative and technical intelligentsia—scientists, economists, lawyers, writers, physicians, teachers...

In my opinion, given the present makeup everything is decided by the apparatchiks from the ispolkoms, while at the sessions the deputies merely raise their hands, at

times, as one deputy whom I know expressed it, unanimously but by no means by common assent. The power of the people was at some time imperceptibly replaced by the power of the bureaucrats.

There is another consideration. A special need has come about to create within the country an effective mechanism for studying public opinion, without which feedback in revolutionary perestroyka is impossible.

I propose that regional institutes be set up to study public opinion.

N. Numerov, candidate of technical sciences

And What Happens to the Deputy?

I read with great interest the CPSU Central Committee Theses for the upcoming party conference. I was pleased to see that the document contains a whole series of measures whose implementation would significantly advance the cause of perestroyka.

After reading them a specific idea arose concerning the sixth thesis. It contains the idea that workers in management organs accountable to a soviet cannot simultaneously be deputies in that soviet. The proposal is aimed at making the elected organs of power really stand above the apparatus and at preventing the concentration of two sets of power in one set of hands.

But one possible consequence of this is disturbing. Imagine the following situation: the position of leader of the management organ becomes vacant. There is an outstanding candidate for a replacement. But this person, respected by everyone, is a deputy of that soviet! In order to be recommended for the position he must resign his deputy status. This is what will happen...

Perhaps, this is why a similar proposal is absent from the fifth thesis, which talks about subordination and accountability of the party apparatus to the elected party organ?

B. Usmanov, member of the CPSU since 1966, acting laboratory chief at the Komsomol Central Committee Higher Komsomol School.

Between Congresses and Conferences

I familiarized myself very carefully with the CPSU Central Committee Theses for the 19th All-Union Party Conference. Let me say immediately that I am satisfied that many of the points formulated in them have turned out to be consonant with the thoughts expressed by our communists.

It is not from hearsay that I know how they live in the primary organizations and how their spirits ache. I also know that lively work with them also requires that the party worker himself join in, strain every nerve, and put his whole heart into indoctrination work. It must be confessed that not everyone can carry this kind of burden.

In this connection I have the following proposal for the delegates at the party conference. In the paragraph in the Theses that states that a constant flow of new blood should be insured by providing for the possibility of renewing the makeup of the central committee in the period between congresses, the words "and also the CPSU obkoms, gorkoms and raykoms in the period between conferences" should be added; and then back to the text.

I think that this will insure a more responsible and considered approach to formation of the party aktiv.

N. Gavrilova, lathe operator at the Kurganpribor Production Association, member of the CPSU Kurgan Obkom Buro.

Provide a Place in the Ranks

Three years ago at a general meeting of the inhabitants of the housing development I was elected to the people's court as the deputy chairman. The chairman was elected by workers in the people's court having legal training. But it so happened that he soon had to resign from the court because he had not justified the trust of the electors. And for 2 years I fulfilled the duties of chairman and examined more than 350 cases. But officially I am still called the deputy chairman. Why? In the rayispolkom they say that Buntov cannot be the chairman because he is a nonparty person.

Maybe I am not a communist by my heart and my labor are with the communists and I always want to stand in rank with them. And I would like to hope that the problem of nonparty leaders will be raised at the conference. Otherwise, how can there be talk about democracy?

K. Buntov, veteran of the Great Patriotic War and labor veteran, Kazan.

09642

Observers Are Not Necessary

Analyzing the work of the party organizations as a nonstaff party raykom agent and now as chief of the nonstaff section of the Lipetsk city people's control, I involuntarily conclude that most of our party members are passive. This happens for a number of reasons that sometimes do not depend totally on the communists themselves: he was admitted to the party because he had worker well or simply "had to." Some join in the hope of additional material advantages and privileges. Even among us party veterans there are people who are very reluctant to carry out public work and who sometimes say "as a joke": "And what will I get for this? As if party membership should be paid for."

And so I support the idea of certification in the party ranks.

Certification would activate the work of the primary party organizations and cancel out the first category of simply being a "party member."

I also propose that the CPSU Central Committee Party Control Committee be removed from subordination to the Central Committee and be elected at the party congresses in parallel with the Central Committee, as was done in Lenin's time.

V. Lichkov, member of the CPSU since 1943, former Komsomol and party worker, teacher, disabled in the Great Patriotic War, Lipetsk.

Readers Discuss Party Conference Theses

PM1706115 [Editorial Report] Moscow PRAVDA in Russian on 4 June 1988 in its Second Edition carries on page 3 a roundup of readers' letters under the rubric "Discussion Rostrum" and the general headline "We Discuss the CPSU Central Committee Theses." The section subheaded "Dialogue. I Am For. And I Am Against" carries two letters including the following from Yu. Kuvakin, director of Aktyubinsk Oblast's "Prigrodnyy" Sovkhoz:

"I support the idea of Communists' sociopolitical certification. The question has become urgent. In recent years, quite a few party members have ceased to fulfill their vanguard role and have compromised themselves in people's eyes through their inactivity and idle chatter and have wallowed in drunkenness and moneygrubbing. Others hope that everything will be forgiven provided they don't draw attention to themselves."

"I realize that it is no simple task to restore genuine Leninist militancy and principledness in the party ranks. We have only just enough time. But I do believe that certification will be a truly effective means of purifying and strengthening the party if it is not suppressed by the bureaucracy. So it seems that everything must be done to ensure that bureaucrats are not allowed within firing range of certification. Otherwise, they will go crazy and drive out true fighters for restructuring and elevate creeps and toadies."

"How can certification be organized? First, a special democratically elected commission made up of Communists holding prestige in the collective must implement it. These must be honest, militant, and bold Communists. The commission must not be dependent on the party committee, the trade union committee, or the administration. This will ensure objectivity. Second, after comprehensively studying the person to be certified, the commission submits its draft for examination by a party conference. It is better that this be an open meeting involving nonparty people also. This will ensure glasnost and democracy."

"My viewpoint is as follows: We must resolutely abandon malicious violators of the CPSU Rules and human morals. Others must be given time to change and maybe become candidates."

The second letter in this section is signed by V. Bykovskiy, hero of socialist labor and member of the CPSU since 1944 from Minsk, and reads as follows:

"I read attentively the CPSU Central Committee Theses for the 19th all-union party conference. I want to voice my thoughts on certain items.

"I consider the proposal to carry out sociopolitical certification of Communists as a means of purifying and strengthening the party unwarranted and unjustified. Why? First, why announce a campaign to purify the party when such purification is being carried out literally every day? For no one has hitherto abrogated the CPSU Rules. It is written there in black and white that primary party organizations systematically listen to Communists' reports at their meetings about their fulfillment of the Rules and the party program and adopt appropriate resolutions. Party organizations must also in accordance with the Rules take steps to exert influence, right down to expulsion from party ranks, if they find out that a Communist has worked badly, violated the demands of the Rules, or discredited the title of party member. Is this not purification and strengthening of party ranks? How people in party organizations approach the resolution of such questions is another matter—this depends on the maturity and principledness of the Communists and the party organization secretary, and the way in which they are led by party raykoms and gorkoms. In this context, accountability and responsibility must also be toughened.

"Second, it is worth thinking about the political aspect of the proposed certification. For the Soviet state is 70 years old, and the party is even older. An absolute majority of party members has withstood the endurance test, not through any conversations or political 'inquiries,' but through life."

The following two letters come under the subhead "Thinking Aloud". The first is from A. Nikitin, a worker from Chelyabinsk, and reads as follows:

"The CPSU Central Committee Theses say that the party will consistently conduct a policy of openness and

glasnost and free discussion of the problems of the past and present. I read these lines and thought: Why has the historical position of real fighters for the ideals of the revolution been equated with that of all manner of favorites and political tricksters?

"Of course, you may retort: Why stir up the past? The whole thing's inhuman. Excuse me, but today we are talking (and rightly so) about setting up a memorial to the victims of the political repressions. I believe that this must be done, and in the center of Moscow, moreover. What will then happen to the tombs of their executioners? Will they really be rubbing shoulders with one another? No, there is but one justice in the world. It must be resolutely rehabilitated. Our holy places—Red Square and the Kremlin Wall—must be cleansed."

This is followed by a letter from I. Ovchinnikov, member of the CPSU since 1954 from Sverdlovsk Oblast, which reads as follows:

"The party apparatus has swollen to incredible proportions. What is its business? Paper shuffling or else interfering in the work of soviets and economic managers. I think that the number of party workers could be cut by half or one-third without any detriment. An elective political organ made up of more workers and peasants with substantial work experience at the bench and on the land must manage everything. One more thing: All manner of privileges and benefits must be abolished."

PRAVDA Readers Discuss CPSU CC Theses
18000407 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 6 Jun 88
(2d edition) p 1

[Letters from readers A. Khristenko, director of the Karaganda State Experimental Agricultural Station; O. Khaydarov, 1st-year student at the Moscow Institute for Water Resource Improvement; V. Ilin, sector head in the Institute for Problems of Informatics of the USSR Academy of Sciences, Moscow; and S. Tsekhnistroy, Kharkov Oblast, under the "We Are Discussing the Theses of the CPSU Central Committee" rubric]

[Text]

[Khristenko Letter]

Boiling Over Inside

The Theses of the CPSU Central Committee and 19th All-Union Party Conference provide abundant food for thought. And the main thing is the ability to speak honestly and openly about what is painful.

I have spent almost my entire life in Kazakhstan. I have been a brigade leader and first secretary of the Komsomol raykom. Now I head a state agricultural experimental station. In the years that have passed all kinds of things have happened, but I could never reconcile myself to servility and obsequiousness, which have flourished in party officialdom.

Unfortunately, even now these phenomena are holding back the process of restructuring. Here is a specific example of this. Not long ago the farm was visited by a responsible official of the CPSU Central Committee, one of the republic leaders, and their entourage. We are used to having guests. Our station is the most highly profitable farm in the oblast and annually earns about 2.5 million rubles of profit. This time we decided to show the comrades from the Central Committee equipment that had been made by sovkhoz efficiency experts, equipment which makes it possible to raise labor productivity by 30-40 percent and to increase the yield of grain by 1-2 quintals per hectare.

But the guests refused to look at the "pieces of iron." They wanted to look at the sovkhoz livestock-raising operation. Here there was something that they did not like. They made specific remarks. Our specialists agreed with them. All in a day's work. But the most interesting thing began after the responsible comrades left. That same day, the collective of the station was to be awarded the challenge banner of the CPSU Central Committee, the USSR Council of Ministers, the AUCCTU, and the Komsomol Central Committee. At the appointed time the secretary of the party obkom did not turn up. At midnight there was a phone call from the agriculture department of the obkom: immediately submit the station's economic indicators.

The specialists were gathered at night, and they furnished the information. Then there were two more exacting calls. This time they wanted data covering the farm's performance for the last 10 years and the last 20 years. Why and for what purpose they did not explain to us. The curtain of secrecy opened up a bit after 3 months, when the collective was finally awarded the prize it had earned. It turns out that we had been unable to show off to the best advantage to the highly placed guests, and they were dissatisfied. The hopes of the obkom turned out not to have been justified.

I fully support the fifth section of the Theses which refers to delimiting the sphere of activity of party and soviet authorities and economic entities. After all, up to now they have been compelling us specialists to carry out the incompetent instructions of party leaders. What losses the economy has been suffering from such directives! Here is just one example. The people in the obkom thought up a new technology for putting up hay. It all appeared logical on paper: you mow the harvest of grass, you blow it into the cart with a "Vikhr," and you carry it off to the hay mow. At local plants they made up 1,500 carts in a rush, on which 6 million rubles and 3,000 tons

of metal were spent. There was only one thing they did not take into account: you could force only a ton of hay into the "modernized" wagon. And our distances are great. The sovkhoz puts up about 200 tons a day. So, to carry out the obkom technology we needed 50 tractors. Who was going to undertake such outlays? They tried to argue with the director. Nothing doing! But they did not want to listen. Whatever we said was seen as sabotage of the progressive method. And what was the result? Today practically all the wagons are standing unused in the machine yards.

Now the obkom is planting new ideas with the full force of party authority: to harvest a ton of beets for every dairy cow. Now this is good feed, no doubt about it. But what are we going to harvest it with, and where are we going to store it? Every year cabbage goes unharvested in the field. The oblast has a disastrous shortage of storage facilities for potatoes and vegetables. The obkom avoids these issues. But when once again the snow falls on the "queen of the fields," directors' heads begin to roll.

A great deal of resentment has built up. I am convinced that every head of a collective has in his memory regrettable examples like this. We can no longer be silent and go along with it. We need to think, to make proposals, and to act. I consider it indispensable, for example, for the obkom secretary to report annually to the party aktiv of the sector he is responsible for. Possibly even take a secret ballot—Has the leader coped with his complicated duties? At present, the supervisors and specialists of farms have practically no opportunity to express their opinion.

[Khaydarov Letter]

Open the Door

I fully support the proposal expressed in the Theses of the CPSU Central Committee about conducting social-political certification of party members. We are all talking a great deal now about the cult of Stalin's personality, about the stagnation, and so on. But where was our party, with its many millions, at that time? There is no doubt that many at that time were issued their party card and received Octobrist badges as schoolchildren. This is confirmed by the scandal that took place in Uzbekistan. But if this only concerned Uzbekistan, then restructuring would have to be done only there.

In my opinion, now is the most suitable time to open the door to enrollment of young people in the ranks of the party, young people who support restructuring with their hearts and their deeds. Restrictions have to be removed from enrollment of university students and employees in the CPSU. There would also seem to be a need to discuss the question of the age for enrollment in the party. True, a man must be formed and must be fully committed. But after all there have been heroes at the age of 14 to 16....

Recently, we have had occasion from time to time to hear discussions of the possibility of creating some second party. I am resolutely opposed to this. I feel that we need to get rid of the ballast and to strengthen and consolidate our Communist Party, which has gone through the test of blood and sweat, and then there would be no need to talk about a second party.

I believe that restructuring will be fully victorious. And for our part, we young people, university students, will support this process actively.

[Ilin Letter]

Thoughts Out Loud

Immense and complicated tasks have been set in the Theses of the Central Committee. Even now it is quite obvious that there is no room in the party for those who do not want or are not able to work in it, but have continued to be numbered among party members out of a fear of hurting themselves and those dear to them by announcing their voluntary withdrawal from its ranks. The first thing that has to be done in certifying members of the CPSU is to propose that those who do not want or cannot work under the new conditions voluntarily leave the party.

I do not agree that we should "shake up" the passive Communist and agitate for restructuring. If he himself does not feel the need for it and does not feel in himself the readiness and ability to fight for the new, then it is better for him to leave the party voluntarily. We should say "thanks" to such people for doing the honest thing.

This will free the party not only of ballast, but also of the unnecessary and extensive work of certification. But at the same time, people must be convinced that neither they nor those close to them will be harmed by the voluntary withdrawal from the ranks of the CPSU. It is important to the destiny of the party and to the destiny of restructuring that an atmosphere of alienation not be created around them.

[Tsekhmistro Letter]

More Glasnost: Double Standard?

I am a film projectionist, I am on the party rolls of the party organization of the Kolkhoz "Pershe Travnya."

Recently, we discussed in a party meeting the troubles of our secondary school and the need for installing gas heating. It is after all cold in the classrooms during the winter. The party members arrived at an unwritten decision that was not for the minutes: we should "be smart," they said, go to the authority which decides on allocation of equipment, and give them a bribe.

This disturbed me extremely, and I spoke harshly. But they pulled me up short: "That is how everyone does it. Don't drag out the meeting." And I ended up a pariah.

So this is what we have come to! We write down in the minutes the phrases of restructuring, but orally, among ourselves, we place a bribe higher than a decision of the party meeting that is compatible with principle. A double standard....

All of this, in my opinion, has resulted from the depreciation of the role and authority of rural party organizations. In view of what I have said, I propose that we include in the Theses of the Central Committee the requirement that decisions of a primary party organization be taken into serious consideration at all "levels," all the way to the obkom. When this mechanism operates straightforwardly, no one even thinks about bribes and other unseemly devices.

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SOVETSKAYA KULTURA Readers Respond to CPSU CC Theses

18000410 Moscow SOVETSKAYA KULTURA
in Russian 11 Jun 88 p 2

[Letters from readers of SOVETSKAYA KULTURA under the rubric "Yesterday, Today, Tomorrow": "The 19th All-Union Conference: Expanding Upon the Text of the CPSU CC Theses"]

[Text]

How to Make a Moving Force Out of a Brake

Over the seven years that I have served in the party apparatus (I am an instructor in the propaganda section dealing with cultural affairs and atheistic indoctrination), I have garnered some ideas about restructuring the inner life of the party.

The first thing that I should like to talk about is acceptance into the party. The Theses say that the practice of regulating the growth of party ranks through assignment according to specific needs is opposed to the genuine needs for the development of the party itself and the entire country. I am prompted to exclaim that, at last, in pursuit of the necessary percentage (that is, necessary to look good on paper), we will not practically drag by force some into the party who are not the most worthy, while leaving out honorable people of initiative who are not entered in an appropriate category.

It is possible, some may object, to carry out one's task honestly while not being a party member. But, of course, worthy people not only need the party—the party is in need of them. And especially now.

There must be a single criterion for selection into the party. That is the quality of a person in terms of his moral values and actions—the degree of his commitment to the party.

The second thing is about elections of the party organs leadership. For the present there are no such elections. A lower-ranking leader is not elected; he is selected by higher-ranking leaders. Communists ought to elect not only the first person on whom the style of operation of the organization principally depends, but a group of persons—a bureau, for example. I consider this question of electing the first person to be the most fundamental kind of issue, but there is no detailed description of the process in the Theses. In my view the basis for ensuring responsiveness in the party lies not in limiting the tenure of one leader in office (Chernenko, of course, may replace Brezhnev), but in a direct influence by communists upon the election of their leaders. Then even the manager will turn his attention not only to the higher-ranking authorities but to the rank-and-file communists who have elected him. Elections must be direct, and the voting must be in secret; for we have not yet attained to that stage of democratization when it may bravely be entrusted to open balloting (as we know, we have had enough of such voting), and we lack the mechanism for counting up the votes.

If we want the party apparatus to act not as a brake but as a motivating force in restructuring, a review of its present structure is essential. The ineffectiveness of the internal organs' influence—the primary party organs of the raykom, for example—can be explained by the fact that the whole of its overall influence is broken down into separate, artificial elements, such as party organization work, ideology, economic activities. Each instructor is responsible for his own little piece.

But, of course, ideology does not exist in isolation from personnel policy, economics, and other aspects of collective activity. For a long time there has been a need for an "all-round" party committee instructor who would have oversight responsibilities for the entire range of questions in his organization. The instructor would cease to be a bureaucrat, a link in a chain, and would become a leading figure in the party apparatus, resolving and responding as required to questions.

A few words about the substitution of soviet organs by soviet organs. The Theses directly refer to such a substitution process. In my view, however, it occurs not because the party apparatus wants to retain all the power in its own hands—they would give it up with pleasure if others would only take it—but because the standard of the people in the soviets does not permit this to be done. I think that if there were also elections in the soviets, instead of mere endorsements of selected candidates, the personnel problem would take care of itself. It is apparent that substantial changes are needed and coordination between the ispolkom and the soviet—between the apparatus and the electoral body. The latter organizations only formally have the authority to decide matters. The electoral body, formed by the quota system (so many workers, so many women, so many from positions of management, etc.), cannot function in any other way. Its

powerlessness to develop the society is particularly obvious. From my own vantage point in a rayon committee, I can see that party life in many respects proceeds according to its own inner laws without particularly cutting across the life of the rayon or having any very great influence on it.

This situation is intolerable, above all, in ideological work, which still tends to be cut off from life, operating with its own stereotypes and its own scale of values. In order not to turn sour, in order not to fall once again into a quagmire of indifference and stagnation, we must have the local information media—the loudspeakers of glasnost—function as more than mere ideological appendages. The suggestion has already been made to have the editorial staffs of the central newspapers subordinate only to the party conference, and to have the editorial staffs of local publications correspondingly answerable to the party meetings at the kray, oblast, and rayon levels. I think that would be the correct procedure. Today, of course, a rayon editor is submissively subordinate to every rayon official, and no one takes him at all seriously.

We have great hopes for the forthcoming All-Union Party Conference, but preparations for it give some cause for anxiety. Once more they convince me that restructuring within the party must begin with the party apparatus.

Yu. Stepanov, Instructor

CPSU Gorkom, Zagorsk

Moscow Oblast

A Peculiar Rule

One of the guarantees that the restructuring cannot be reversed, and one of the most effective measures for opposing party bureaucracy—from the apparatus of the Central Committee to that of the rayon committee—is suspension of that dubious but conspicuous privilege, allegedly a "right," not to give written replies in response to petitions submitted to the party. This is the Stalinist right not to leave tracks, the right not to be monitored—a right of irresponsibility and illegality.

This purported "right" in a disguised form is embodied in law in Sec. 3(d) of the Party Rules where reference is made to the fact that a party member has the right to make inquiries, petitions, or proposals to any party official all the way up to the CPSU Central Committee and demand a substantive reply to his proposal.

What does the right to demand a reply signify—even "a substantive reply"—in the absence of any obligation to make the reply, and what is more a substantive one? It goes without saying that in a civilized society people receive answers to their requests.

It was for this very reason that Sec. 10 of the Party Rules, as adopted at the Third Party Congress of the Bolsheviks, did not contain this right:

"Each party member and each person who has any matter to take up with the party is entitled to demand that his petition in its original form be delivered to the Central Committee, or to the editorial board of the central organ or to the party congress."

A comparison of Sec. 3 of the present Party Rules with Sec. 10 of the Party Rules adopted during the life of V. I. Lenin discloses one other feature of major import. The expression "all the way to the CPSU Central Committee" can signify nothing else but that the CPSU Central Committee is the highest party authority. In fact, the highest party authority is the party congress. It is precisely for this reason that the Leninist formulation concluded with the phrase "or to the party congress."

The words "all the way to the CPSU Central Committee" were carried over from the Party Rules adopted by the 18th Party Congress in 1938—a period when Stalinism flourished. In their own way they honestly represented the situation as it developed at a time when Stalin and those about him stood above the party and above the people.

Yu. Vologzhaninov

Kiev

The Nationality Question

In my opinion certain matters that deserve discussion at the party conference are not reflected in the Theses of the Central Committee dealing with national and nationalist relations.

The idea of democratization of nationalist relations as a major feature of restructuring in this complex and contradictory area of public life is only weakly expressed. The treatment of the language issue is not addressed. Such important aspects as the question of mechanisms and guarantees for satisfying specifically nationalist and cultural needs of minority groups and nationalities living in a foreign environment, isolated from their own main national territory, is not dealt with directly. Nor is the matter of a more proportionally balanced representation of non-Slavic nationalities in the highest echelons of governmental and political power; or a radical restructuring of the second chamber of the the soviet parliament, the USSR Supreme Soviet Council of Nationalities, the deputies of which have been appointed directly and are duty-bound to be staunch defenders of the nationality-oriented interests of the local population and to play a part in regulating relations between nationalities.

In a country of multiple nationalities such as ours, it is essential to establish under the USSR Supreme Soviet an Institute of the Friendship of Peoples or an Institute of Nationalist Relations—the name is not of importance. Incidentally, prior to 1937 there was an Institute of Nationalities attached to the USSR Central Executive Committee.

This institution could successfully conduct both basic research and deal with diverse problems of a practical nature; for example, make preliminary corrections in official documents pertaining to nationalist problems.

The presently existing dispersion of forces occupied with national problems in separate compartments that are only weakly related to one another (departmental units or sections within the CPSU Central Committee's Institute of Marxism-Leninism and the institutes of philosophy, ethnography, sociology, etc.) can exert a negative effect on resolving such complex problems on the agenda as improving the structure of relations between the USSR and its nationalities; holding a referendum on various aspects of national life; and regulating the mechanism for combining national and international—local and state—interests as a means of deliberately and scientifically resolving contradictions between them.

M. Iordan

Candidate of Philosophical Sciences

Moscow

From Letters on Restructuring

Today we are going through the stage of restructuring when all those in support of it are mindful of that old, though not yet operative, slogan: "All power to the Soviets!"

The idea of transferring power to the soviets is embodied in the Theses for the forthcoming 19th Party Conference. But Section 6 of the Theses, in my view, contains a statement that is rather undemocratic, and contradictory as well, in limiting the power of the soviets.

I refer to the two sentences from Section 6 that follow. Please think about them.

"Genuine leadership of the Soviets is to be asserted over the executive bodies. The system is to be established in such a way that those who work in administrative bodies which report to a Soviet cannot at the same time be its deputies."

It is clear that the real power lies with the executive committees and that reference is made to them and not to all the administrative bodies. Does this mean that a person elected by the people because he has a program of his own that is supported by the electorate is not to be entrusted to implement his own ideas? Why should other

people be engaged in carrying out his ideas? Will they do just what the author of the ideas wants them to do? Under the most favorable circumstances the person who proposed the ideas can, it is stated in the Theses, exert "supervisory control over the executive committees" if he is a member of the Soviet's presidium.

Of course, the Soviets can engage specialists who are not deputies to work in the executive committees. But why forbid specialists from working in these bodies if they are already deputies?

V. Titov

Moscow

I propose that each city create a public affairs staff for monitoring public opinion during the course of the 19th Party Conference to evaluate discussion and keep delegates informed of it.

E. Kanygna

Gorkiy

I propose introducing an age requirement of from 65 to 70 for all elected officials from the party rayon committee on up to the CPSU Central Committee secretary as well as the leaders of soviet and state organs, and to abolish all awards and titles given to party leaders for long years of service and on the occasion of this or that anniversary.

At the end of a year the names of the very best first secretaries of oblast committees and of CP Central Committees in the union republics who have made major contributions to improving the life of the population in their oblasts and republics—according to results obtained by sociological surveys—should be published in all the central information media; together with the names of those who clearly performed their duties below the level of their capabilities and in every respect failed to be of help to the residents of their areas.

V. Dmitriev

CPSU member since 1973

Tapa, Estonian SSR

One of the weak spots of the restructuring, in my judgment, lies in the fact that many of the fundamental tenets contained in party resolutions with respect to specific matters of administration and management are not reflected in clearly formulated legislation—that is, laws or directives issued by the highest organs of authority.

It is incomprehensible why these organs, having been given the right to exercise legislative initiative, do not exercise it. Possibly, I am wrong, but I think that

passiveness of this kind in the passage of legislation is to be explained by a persistent underestimation of the role of law and of laws in national and public life.

R. Khalikov

Rostov-na-Donu

12889

Servicemen Submit Proposals on Theses to Conference

*18000490 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian
28 Jun 88 p 2*

[Suggestions addressed to the 19th All-Union Party Conference: "I suggest...."]

[Text] During the nationwide discussion of the CPSU Central Committee theses, party, trade-union and Komsomol meetings were held in the Army and Navy with the participation of party and nonparty members. In an atmosphere of glasnost and democracy, businesslike and critical discussions took place on providing reliable guarantees for the irreversibility of perestroika, quality parameters, combat readiness of units and ships, and reserves for improving the efficiency of defense building.

The suggestions and views expressed in the course of lively discussions were sent to the 19th All-Union Party Conference. Following are some of them.

Lt Col V. Bolysov: The time has come for a more profound consideration at the conference of the role and tasks of the USSR Armed Forces, and the basic trends and ways of restructuring the activities of commanders, political organs and party and Komsomol organizations in the Army and Navy.

What is needed is thorough and extensive development of the thesis on increasing the efficiency of defense building, primarily via qualitative parameters in the areas of ordnance and personnel. This must reflect not only the tasks of the Armed Forces but of all interested governmental and social institutions throughout the country.

Lt Col V. Shelest: An end must be put to the formal presentation of awards to party and soviet personnel on the occasion of anniversaries. It becomes even more important to remember this if high end results have not been achieved in their work sectors. I suggest that a petition be submitted to the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium on depriving of high governmental awards individuals who were compromised during the period of stagnation or obtained such awards undeservedly, for loyalty to individuals, on the basis of favoritism, etc.

Soviet Army serviceman A. Aleksandrov: Perestroika puts on the agenda the question of creating a Central Control Commission, which would be elected by the

LETTERS ON CONFERENCE THESES

congress and be answerable to it only. Its main function, in my view, should be to supervise the observance of the Leninist norms of party life and party discipline in the party agencies, including the CPSU Central Committee.

Capt V. Onufriev, political worker: Greater attention must be paid to problems of cadre policy in the Army and Navy. It is no secret that, for a variety of reasons, of late the prestige of the officer career has declined. Obvious among them are an excessive work load, lack of conveniences, and poor attention to the families. This exerts a certain influence. Such problems are part of the governmental concern for the quality parameters of combat readiness.

Nor does equalization in material support of the work of officers contribute to the enhancement of the human factor. In my view, salaries must be made consistent with the individual contributions of the serviceman to the implementation of his assignments. We must adopt a strictly individual approach to moral incentives as well. For example, medals for seniority are today presented to anyone, regardless of the type of service record. Strictly speaking, why should this be?

Greater exigency must be displayed toward every party member. This is a basic line in the activities of party organizations. The fate of perestroika depends on each one of us, on our individual contribution to it.

Lt Col B. Litvinov: Let me make the following stipulation in the theses more specific: Party committee secretaries on the raykom or higher levels must not be elected for more than two terms. I believe that an age limit must be set for such categories—65. This would prevent stagnation phenomena among cadres and ensure their periodical renovation. It would exclude communist boastfulness and dependency.

Soviet Army serviceman I. Lytkin, party committee secretary: Under the situation of glasnost reports on party budget expenditures must be periodically published. This could be done, for example, in PRAVDA. In connection with the reduction of the apparatus, the primary party organizations should be allowed to keep a certain amount of the funds (for purchasing political publications, paying for the services performed by the Znaniye Society, carrying out some educational projects, and so on).

Soviet Army serviceman V. Rukomoynikov, party committee secretary: I believe that the rayon, city and oblast party committees should abolish their industrial and agricultural departments. Such departments exist in the soviet agencies and the two frequently duplicate each other's functions. The party committees should deal with political leadership and not take over the functions of soviet and economic authorities.

Col A. Vaysero: How can we avoid rejects in cadre policy? I suggest that we abandon the practice of moving delinquent party members holding managerial positions from one job to another, with a reprimand. Mandatorily an entry should be made in their file: "Possibility of further use in a leading position excluded." It is only after this reprimand has been expunged from a party member's record that he could be recommended for a managerial position.

I. Shulga, engineer: In order to improve the efficiency of the work of soviets on all levels, I suggest that 50 percent of the deputies be freed from their job obligations. They should also give up the benefits which undermine the reputation of people's representatives. For example, we are amazed in railroad stations and airports at the pomposity of the spacious premises bearing the sign "Hall for Deputies of the USSR Supreme Soviet and the Supreme Soviets of Union Republics," while in the public waiting rooms the people are unbelievably crowded.

Lt Col V. Shelkov, party committee secretary: Greater attention should be paid to problems of party social policy and concern for the working person. Could we consider normal the fact that a large number of officers and ensigns, who complete the last part of their service in distant garrisons, remain without apartments for many years and, in their old age, are forced to roam from one place to another? I believe that firm guarantees must be provided, ensuring the social protection of military personnel passing into the reserve.

Lt Col V. Komarev, department chief: The party Central Committee theses mention the efficiency of defense building. I support this idea entirely. Let me point out, however, that in order to ensure the qualitative staffing of the Armed Forces with cadres we must abandon the habit of considering any case of dismissal of an officer as exceptional. It so happens that people try to prevent such layoffs by a variety of means. My suggestion is to give the officer the right to go into the reserve or to resign after 5 years of service. At the same time, efforts must be intensified elsewhere: More attention must be paid to ordinary conveniences and material support of officers and ensigns and the development of conveniences in the garrisons. The question is pressing of allowing officers and ensigns who are completing their service in the Armed Forces to apply for housing to the executive committees of their chosen places of residence 2 to 3 years prior to their conversion to reserve status.

Lt Col A. Minakov: It seems to me that the topic of social justice is strongly emphasized in the theses. I would like to consider this matter from party positions, so to say. Why is it that in the consideration of personal matters an exception is made in the case of communists in managerial positions? Their actions are not considered by the primary party organizations. I suggest that this approach be changed.

Lt Col A. Petrov, political department officer: We speak a great deal of paper chase during the period of stagnation. This is right. However, the process of perestroika has not affected paper work in the shop party organizations. Minutes should be kept only of the most important meetings (enrollment, personal affairs, accountability reports, elections). At the present time paper storms frequently obscure live work with people.

Soviet Army serviceman F. Strelko, method worker: The time has come to forbid night-shift work by women in industry. The workday of women with minor children should be shortened. Aid to single mothers should be increased. Women who refuse to take care of their children should pay child support.

Maj M. Pishchulov, group commander: The accelerated building of housing has resulted in a depressing monotony of villages and cities. Architectural features are considered, alas, archaic. This is painful. I suggest that the conference consider this matter. Obsolete layouts for house building must be abandoned. The local soviets and construction organizations must be held strictly answerable for the quality of commissioned housing.

Capt S. Ivanov, engineer: I suggest that in party documents the term "rank and file party members" be deleted. In the party everyone is equal.

Sr Lt Yu. Zaytsev, company commander: In order to eliminate red tape and bureaucratism in solving various vitally important problems related to the Army and Navy, it would be expedient, in my view, to set up under the USSR Supreme Soviet a special commission on Armed Services Affairs. The local soviets should set up social control commissions supervising the training of young people for military service. I am referring not to the quantity but the quality of the contingent with which the commander and the political worker must deal....

Col Gen A. Ivanov: The enhancement of quality parameters in the training of the personnel is impossible without a corresponding improvement in the quality of material training facilities. For the time being, many of their elements are not supplied promptly. We must increase the responsibility of defense industry enterprises working on the orders we have placed.

Maj A. Petrov, topographic service officer: I was concerned by the fact that the CPSU Central Committee theses do not say a single word on the mass information and propaganda media. Yet a number of problems have accumulated here. I believe that, while broadening and intensifying glasnost and democracy, we must block the publication of semitruthful materials in the press. Such materials shily bypass sensitive areas. Frequently, the expressions "some comrades" and "objective circumstances" are used instead of naming the actual culprits. It is in the interest of perestroika to report in greater detail results of public opinion surveys throughout the country on the most sensitive and pressing matters.

Lt Col V. Osipov, staff officer: Reading closely the theses on the measures taken for the implementation of the economic reform and the way they are being paralyzed by the bureaucratic positions assumed by a number of ministries and departments, I suggest the following: In order to enhance the responsibility of all ministries and departments in terms of the implementation of the reform, it is necessary to stipulate specific steps of personal influence on the personnel of the administrative apparatus, and increase exigency concerning the results of activities (or inactivities), as well as uncompromisingly condemn actions which cause material harm.

Ensign B. Ivanov, technician-mechanic: As part of the new political thinking, problems of CPSU national policy must be thoroughly developed. We need a specific program which would include political, economic and social steps aimed at solving problems which arise; all institutions within the political system through which national interests must be determined and coordinated must be enhanced.

Lt Col F. Mitkovets, staff officer: It must be stipulated that all laws prior to their promulgation are subject to nationwide discussion. Consolidated remarks and suggestions should be published in IZVESTIYA.

Yu. Chernavkin, designer: It is time to legislate the fact that any step taken by a department, enterprise or organization which affects socioeconomic and natural conditions in a given area could be implemented only with the knowledge and permission of the local soviets of people's deputies.

Capt N. Babenko: Today we speak a great deal and with a feeling of concern about young people and their tastes, views and attachments. I suggest that we raise once again the question of the "Law on Youth." Such a law should define the rights and obligations of young people in all areas of social life and relations between the Komsomol and the other youth organizations. I read somewhere that there seems to be a draft of such a law. Such a law should be submitted to nationwide discussion.

Soviet Army serviceman V. Tikhonov: I suggest that a special printed organ (newspaper, journal, bulletin) be published, to cover ecological problems, such as the condition of the atmosphere and water, and forest resources, flora and fauna, radiation background, and so on, for the basic areas of the country.

Col Yu. Keleberda: The CPSU Central Committee theses justifiably note that positive changes have been noticed in the development of science and technology; exigency concerning the technical standard of output has increased.... In order to accelerate scientific and technical progress, in my view, it would be necessary to restore the reputation and prestige of the engineer (foreman) in industry.

Maj Yu. Kurtish, political worker: We must see to it that the military-patriotic upbringing of young people is considered, not in words but in actions, one of the most important obligations of the primary party organizations and enterprises, establishments and educational institutions.

Sr Lt I. Shetinin, platoon commander: I believe that in order to upgrade the quality of reinforcement of party ranks it would be expedient to extend the candidacy period of people joining the CPSU to 2 years. This would make it possible to test better the political, practical and moral qualities of the new member.

Private V. Cherednik, driver, nonparty member: In my view, it is necessary to formulate more efficient steps in the struggle against drunkenness and alcoholism. Through the joint efforts of party and Komsomol organizations and the entire public, we must create an atmosphere of intolerance of moonshiners, loafers, amateurs of profiting from other people's misfortune, and the unhealthy weakness for drinking. There should be fewer slogans and meaningless assurances.

Capt Third Rank P. Sedler, political department instructor-psychologist: In some cases the load assumed by secretaries of party organizations in subunits and units, who hold full-time jobs, is quite heavy. Official obligations force the person to spread out, as they say, despite the responsibility of doing party work. I believe that such work should be encouraged, and not only morally. For example, this could be achieved with the help of a small withholding from party dues. I suggest that this question be considered at the conference.

Maj P. Zinchenko, department chief: I suggest that problems of defense building, party military policy, upgrading the combat readiness of the Soviet Armed Forces and the entire course of perestroika in the Army and Navy be discussed at an all-Army conference, after the 19th All-Union Party Conference.

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PRAVDA Describes Dissemination of Readers' Proposals to Party Officials
18000493a Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 28 Jun 88 p 2

[Report by PRAVDA special correspondent V. Khatunsev: "Reportage from the CPSU Central Committee: Your Opinion Is Being Taken into Account"]

[Text] Many letters are being received by PRAVDA whose authors are interested in how the mail being sent to the 19th All-Union Party Conference is being generalized and how proposals and remarks on the CPSU Central Committee Theses are being taken into account. The question is also being put more specifically: are the

opinions of communists and workers reaching to party Central Committee, CPSU Central Committee General Secretary and members of the Central Committee Politburo?

Our correspondent has been on a mission to Moscow's Staraya Ploschad to the CPSU Central Committee—the party's main headquarters.

In recent months and weeks the 132nd communications section in Moscow has been working under enormous strain. It is to there that the mail from the entire country, and also from abroad, addressed to the CPSU Central Committee and through it to the 19th All-Union Party Conference, is flowing in. This flow increased even more after publication of the CPSU Central Committee Theses. There is probably no city or rayon in the country from which letters and telegrams have not been sent. Today the voice of the people is sounding out increasingly loudly, expressing lofty and sometimes difficult thoughts about the fate of the state and of society.

It is understandable that the communications section is only the initial sorting point for this unusually large amount of mail. It is then passed on to a room with the sign "Mail Reception" on the doors, and there each letter is marked with a polygonal red stamp; from that moment on it is considered a document of the CPSU Central Committee. Suffice it to walk through the varied business going on in the letter subsection of the Central Committee General Department and chat with the workers reading the mail to be convinced that the letters from workers and communists in our country make up perhaps one of the most democratic, broad and powerful feedback channels between the main headquarters and the people. In the various subdivisions and services of the subsection millions of addresses, names, and information on various matters have been molded into a single system of accountability and control. Here there is a unique written chronicled archive reflecting the development of the party and state, an active compilation of the ideas and thoughts of Soviet people.

Several months ago an additional mark was added to the regular stamp: "Letter addressed to the 19th All-Union Party Conference." The tradition existing in the Central Committee to appeal to public opinion and the multi-million-strong audience of communists and nonparty people when making preparations for very important forums and documents, has today acquired a stable character in working out a collective approach to very important questions in the vital activity of the party and the organs of supreme and local power. The interest in and the feelings of co-participation in the upcoming party conference are enormous and perhaps comparable to the mood in which the 27th CPSU Congress took place. And of course, this is understandable: both events signify a turning point in our society toward renewal in all spheres of existence. And the flow of mail addressed to the Central Committee reflects this upsurge in the political activeness of the masses.

"Letters dealing with the conference started to arrive immediately after the decision was adopted at the CPSU Central Committee Plenum of June last year," deputy chief of the CPSU Central Committee General Department and chief of the letter subsection, Nikolay Ivanovich Zemskov, told us. "One way or another all the mail bears the imprint of the broadest range of problems and issues associated with the conference. During the year that has elapsed since the CPSU Central Committee June Plenum we have received about one million letters from workers, including a large proportion addressed directly to the conference. Moreover, more than 35,000 people from all parts of the country, sometimes from the most remote regions, have been received in the Central Committee reference reception office."

In recent days even more letters have been arriving—8,000 or more. In the main they concern the range of problems connected with the conference agenda. The range of opinions, judgments and attitudes is very broad, but all the mail is united by one main feature, namely, the expectations and hopes and the thought that this is an exceptional and important historic moment for the party and the country. Soviet people are expressing their conviction that the party conference is working on and will adopt decisions that will make irreversible the processes of perestroika, radical economic reform, the deepening of democracy, the expansion of glasnost, and acceleration in the country's socioeconomic development, and will outline effective measures aimed at improving the life of the people. The workers are adopting as their own vital concern the restoration of the Leninist lineament of socialism.

This is a very concise review of this mail. It should be said that special attention has been paid to letters with proposals and comments on the CPSU Central Committee Theses. They showed me extensive reviews prepared for members and candidate members of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and CPSU Central Committee secretaries. So that anyone who doubts that his opinion is being passed on to the party leadership can be sure that what has been said at the meetings in the primary party organizations and at plenums of the party committees, published in the press and reflected in letters, becomes voluminous and substantial material for study by party and state leaders and for decisionmaking on the most important issues in our life.

In the conference mail and in the reflections on the provisions in the Central Committee Theses, special attention is being paid to democratization and glasnost, which in the opinion of M. Munavarov from Dushanbe, "are being developed not in words but in actions." In this connection the phenomenon of public life of letters from workers is seen particularly. Has this phenomenon, which can without exaggeration be called the many democratic voices of the masses, been adequately taken into account? Do the signals from below and from the

local level have the strength to move the needle on the barometer of public concern and amend the movement toward the goal, and promptly and immediately react to a changing situation?

These questions are not trivial, particularly at this present time of a radical break with the ingrained and the birth of the new and what may perhaps be the unexpected. Yes, and in terms of my own journalistic experience I reckon that many people, particularly those far removed from the center, anticipate that "at the top" they do not know about the vicissitudes of ordinary life and the multitude of problems that accompany the course of perestroika, or about the sometimes totally unsuitable local leaders and so forth. Others simply do not believe that their letters get to the highest offices, even less that they influence particular decisions.

I learned that in the letters subsection there is an indicator for the number of letters received per 10,000 of the population in a republic or, say, a kray or oblast. Analysis of the content and dynamics of the mail arriving can say much and clarify much in the state of affairs at the local level, people's attitudes, and the public opinion that has been formed.

The letters received by the CPSU Central Committee are carefully read and much work is done with them, determined essentially by the corresponding party requirements and regulations. A large number of letters are reported to the CPSU Central Committee general secretary and the Central Committee secretaries.

Today it can be said without exaggeration that workers' letters are used as one of the most important democratic tools for giving consideration to public opinion. Indeed, workers in the Central Committee apparatus make no secret of the fact that there are many complaints about the actions of local organs and many letters with the kinds of questions that should be resolved at the local level; and the arrival in the Central Committee reference reception office of many letters "by hand" from all over the country testifies to the fact that some people are forced to "seek out truth and justice" in Moscow.

This is just one of the many examples of how the authors of letters who have approached local departments in vain have been forced to appeal to Moscow about their everyday concerns. Early in May 1988 a complaint addressed to the 19th All-Union Party Conference was received from the inhabitants of the workers' settlement of Priyutovo in the Bashkir ASSR. It was reported in the letter with great and justified resentment that for a month no bread had been brought to the store located on the edge of the settlement, that no dairy products were for sale, and that the apartments were muddy because there were no roads. Repeated appeals to the settlement soviet, the Belebeyevskiy gorispolkom and the party gorkom had yielded no results. "Who if not they should

show concern to improve people's living conditions?" it was justly asked in the letter. In fact, why should this matter have to be resolved in Moscow?

In accordance with CPSU Central Committee instructions the letter was placed under the control of the Bashkir Party Obkom. The obkom secretary, A. Dilmukhametov, sent the Central Committee a reply in which it was reported that the complaint had been examined by the CPSU Belebeyevskiy Gorkom and the city soviet ispolkom by visiting the site. The facts indicated in the letter had been confirmed. The products were starting to arrive on schedule and the approach roads to the store were being repaired; following a check, those to blame had been held administratively liable. The response to the applicants had been made at a meeting of those living in the microrayon.

Thousands of letters addressed to the All-Union Party Conference deal with conflict situations and appeals against particular illegal actions. This is also an indicator that at the various levels of power and management perestroika is moving slowly and that in much the apparatus remains oriented on paper rather than the specific individual with his concerns and tribulations. How, therefore, can we not agree with the following excerpt from a letter from V. Tairyan in Yerevan?: "A meeting of the communists in our party organization issues an appeal to conference delegates, asking them to give no chance to those who are trying to hold back the process of perestroika and the expansion of glasnost." And you could not count all the similar instructions being given to those selected for the conference.

One typical feature of the mail during the 3 years of perestroika has been the sharp increase in the number of constructive, analytical conclusions and proposals, and the fact that people are vitally interested in the changes and are suggesting specific ways to achieve them. And what of feedback? Have we not sensed lately visible action in party and government resolutions that give due consideration to public opinion?

Many people were probably pleased by the CPSU Central Committee decree "On the Course of Fulfillment of CPSU Central Committee Decrees on Questions Concerning the Further Development of Collective Horticulture and Truck Farming and the Elimination of Shortcomings in the Organization of This Work" published in August last year. This document contained much of what had been spoken of in letters. You can find direct reference to this in the text: "Many letters from citizens to the central organs have contained proposals on the removal of unjustified restrictions in some parts of the arrangements for garden plots..."

This is the feedback. The unique nature of the mail sent to the Central Committee lies in the fact that in it, literally like an enormous mirror, the smallest details and minutiae of our life are reflected. One has only to

detect some phenomenon for oneself to see how immediately the letters about it are generalized and analyzed, and objective, unvarnished information passed on to the CPSU Central Committee general secretary, and that information become the subject of review at meetings of the Central Committee Politburo and Secretariat.

Thus, for example, there was the problem of Lake Ladoga. After the party and government leadership had been familiarized with the details of this problem and with workers' letters, a CPSU Central Committee decree was adopted. There is much that convinces us that it is not only the large-scale, major national issues that are in the field of vision of those working with the mail, but that quite specific proposals from workers on particular regional and territorial problems are handled. Over the past 18 months the members both candidate members of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and the Central Committee Secretariat have received about 100 briefs based on letters received. It was unusual for those attending the CPSU Central Committee plenums to be made aware of such a large number of reviews of letters arranged for in-depth businesslike discussion. And there is no doubt that tens of thousands of those appealing to the party Central Committee over the past 3 years can recognize with satisfaction that their opinions have been considered in work on the very important party and state decisions establishing the ideology of perestroika. For the collective vision is the most objective and vigilant, no matter how exacting and disturbing it may be.

Another new thing is that an enormous summary of workers' letters on the course of perestroika and the further democratization of the life of the party and society and on questions included in the agenda for the party forum has been prepared for delegates to the 19th All-Union Party Conference.

The mail addressed to the All-Union Party Conference is truly inclusive. While approving the party course toward revolutionary perestroika, the authors of the letters believe that it is necessary to conduct the offensive more boldly against everything that is outworn or slows things, and whatever opposes real changes.

One letter from Titarenko, Pereval, Shapran and Shevchenko from Kiev states the following: "We and all our numerous relatives wish those attending the 19th All-Union Party Conference success. We await the adoption of measures aimed at expanding democracy. We approve the CPSU Central Committee Theses and we associate ourselves with the efforts being made by the best representatives of our society to implement the behests of the immortal Lenin."

This what labor veterans K. Ryzhikh, I. Lyubenko and A. Goluba write from Cherkassy: "We suggest that in the decisions of the 19th All-Union Party Conference the need be emphasized for careful and public selection of leaders according to their political, business and moral

qualities. At the same time it must be stated that a communist leader of any rank who has compromised himself should be expelled from the party and never appointed to any other leading position."

From S. Golikov from Sillamyae in the Estonian SSR: "Our main achievement in the years of perestroyka has been the strengthening of the conviction in the masses of the absolute need for the broadest democratization of our society. For in previous decades we clearly did not understand what democracy is."

Letters, telegrams... What a fount of ideas is represented by the mail addressed to the All-Union Party Conference! The people are waiting in expectation, they have prepared their own speeches, and in these words we find the hopes of renewal, the search for correct decisions, solid thinking about the future. The chief instruction for the conference as expressed in workers' letters is to speak the truth, not to avoid problems but resolve them in the spirit of the revolutionary renewal of society. The people will stand by perestroyka through thick and thin.

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**Sociologists Study Response to Glasnost,
Conference Proposals**

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OBRAZOVANIYE in Russian No 9, May 88 (signed to
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[Article, published under the rubric "Towards the 19th All-Union Party Conference," by Yu. Vostrikov, candidate of philosophical sciences: "An Active Factor in Deepening Intraparty Democracy; What Sociological Research Has Shown"]

[Text] In carrying out the tasks of restructuring the work of the party organizations as well as developing and improving intraparty democracy, a special place is held by the **questions of broadening democracy**, by criticism and by the informing of the communists on the most important areas of general party and state life.

How do the communists and nonparty persons relate to glasnost? The ascertaining of public opinion on this question was one of the tasks of the sociological research "The Role of Social and Political Factors in the Democratization and Restructuring of Intraparty and Social Life" conducted in February 1988 by the Laboratory for the Study of the Experience of Party, Soviet and Ideological Work under the Moscow Higher Party School in the labor collectives of three Moscow rayons: Kuntsevskiy, Sovetskiy and Frunzenskiy. In the course of the research, more than 4,000 persons were questioned, including communists, nonparty persons, workers, engineer, technicians, party and soviet workers as well as students of the MVPSH who in their replies to the questionnaire questions expressed their opinion on the restructuring and democratization in the party organizations and labor collectives and their assessment of the proposals being presented to the 19th All-Union CPSU Conference.¹

An analysis of the results of the sociological research shows indisputably that the attitude of the basic mass of communists and nonparty persons to the party course of the greatest possible broadening and deepening of glasnost has a clearly expressed positive character. Glasnost is viewed and understood by those questioned as an active factor in the qualitative improvement of intraparty democracy and job democracy.

A predominant portion of the participants in the questionnaire (respondents) considers it exceptionally important from the practical viewpoint to establish decisively and energetically in the future the principles of glasnost in the party environment and to struggle against those who have clamped down on criticism and those who use glasnost for demagogic purposes.

The communists want to have complete and true information on all the most important areas of party and state policy. To return to glasnost an authentically democratic sense whereby it serves the truth—this is the goal and tasks of today.

In the 1920's, V.I. Lenin pointed out: "If in the future we are not afraid to speak even the bitter and harsh truth outright, we will learn, we will learn certainly and unconditionally to be victorious over all and any difficulties" (Complete Collected Works, Vol 44, p 210). Unfortunately, in the situation of Stalin's cult of personality, Lenin's instructions on the necessity of glasnost were forgotten. This led to a deviation from the democratic principles in intraparty life and these had severe consequences for the party and the nation.

After the 20th Congress, a number of important decisions was adopted and aimed at improving and developing intraparty democracy, at broadening and deepening glasnost. These had seemingly begun to make headway. This can be seen, for example, in the Theses of the Third Party Program adopted by the 22d CPSU Congress and repeatedly emphasized by the 23rd and 24th Party Congresses. However, the powerful potential of glasnost was not realized in practice. Moreover, in actuality the very principle of glasnost in the situation of growing bureaucratization of the personnel, rule by administrative fiat, overorganization, sham and indifference to others gained distorted forms. "Zones of silence" appeared and under the cover of these a process of the degeneration of a portion of the party and soviet cadres was secretly going on, corruption, cabals and other negative phenomena arose. This was frankly described at the 27th Congress and then more completely at the January (1987) Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee. The party decisively set out to actually realize the principle of glasnost in the aim of achieving positive transformations both in the party itself as well as in all spheres of social life.

Glasnost is now becoming an essential condition for actively involving the communists in the restructuring and in the democratization processes.

One cannot help but point out that in a majority of the primary party organizations, the process of a moral improvement is presently gaining strength, democratic principles are being reinforced and the negative phenomena are being overcome, albeit with a good deal of work. This, for example, can be seen from the widespread practice of electing the primary party organization secretaries by secret balloting in proposing several candidates. A majority of the party meetings, including many meetings which discussed the candidate delegates for the Party Conference, has been carried out in an atmosphere of frank discussion of the urgent problems in a situation of glasnost, criticism and self-criticism.

The dependence between the development level of glasnost, the degree of information available and the state of affairs in one or another party organization, as practice indicates, is direct. Hence, with good reason many proposals being sent to the 19th All-Union Party Conference and involving the questions of glasnost received the highest number of points among the participants in the conducted questionnaire.

DISCUSSION OF THESES

Among these proposals it is possible to point out the following:

- To publish in the press the results of the public opinion polls—89.7 percent;
- To provide glasnost for the real reasons that leading party and state workers have been dismissed—93.6 percent;
- In awarding the higher governmental decorations one must take into account public opinion without fail—81.9 percent;
- For studying the opinion of all the communists, a referendum should be held in the party on the most urgent questions—72.9 percent;
- To conduct sociological samplings of the party members on the future and current problems of restructuring and acceleration, particularly before the congresses, plenums and conferences; the results of the questionnaires should be provided to all communists—78.2 percent;
- To resume the practice of discussing the confidential letters of the CPSU Central Committee in the party organizations on questions causing acute debate—78.6 percent;
- To publish the complete materials of the plenums of the CPSU Central Committee in the press—60.9 percent;
- To oblige the candidate deputies and deputies of the soviets to present their preelection programs to the voters—76.3 percent;
- To inform the party organizations of the corresponding national economic sectors of notification by the party committees of the ministries and departments of penalties applied to leader communists for failures in work—78 percent.

Somewhat unexpected was the number of points for the proposal to set out in the CPSU Bylaws the provision for intraparty pluralism as a condition for the self-development and democratization of the party. Some 37.2 percent of those questioned considered pluralism a very important factor which must be realized in practice, 29.1 percent found it difficult to reply, 20 percent stated "less important, needs additional work" and 11.2 percent stated "completely unimportant, proposal must not be adopted."

Such a distribution of views in our opinion requires certain explanations. First of all, one is struck by the fact that a rather high percentage of those questioned (respondents) found it difficult to judge this proposal at all. Moreover, in the course of the investigation, they often asked the question of what intraparty pluralism

meant. Obviously, for many of those communists questioned, this term is not completely clear. It is also essential to consider the existing stereotype of thought: over a very long time a positive content has not been invested at all in the concept of "pluralism." These stereotypes expressing the psychology of "unanimity" everywhere and everything have put down roots so deep that it may require a rather extended period to shape a truly democratic awareness among the people. At the same time the concept of an intraparty (incidentally, like socialist) pluralism of opinions, in essence, means only a diversity of viewpoints, a comparison of opinions and positions, whereby it is only possible to adopt collective decisions. The conditions for a pluralism of opinions should ensure the realization of the above-given proposals which were favored by a majority of those questioned, including those who were unclear about or did not care for the term "pluralism." Intraparty pluralism presupposes a freedom of intraparty criticism and democratic methods of discussing all the most important questions of intraparty life. Precisely this understanding of it is in keeping with Lenin's instruction on the deepening and development of intraparty democracy as a condition for the party's self-development.

In our view, the given distribution of opinions on the question of pluralism also shows that it will be difficult to eliminate the barriers restricting the freedom of criticism and discussion and to resolve the questions of increasing the political sophistication of the masses.

The respondents reacted differently on the advisability of reviewing anonymous letters. A majority of them, some 65.4 percent, supported the Ukase of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet for giving up the review of these letters. At the same time, one out of three (from among the worker communists, over 40 percent) felt it advisable to give the right to resolve this question to the party organizations themselves. Probably this proposal requires additional study.

Many of those questioned made a entire series of additional proposals which, in their opinion, could be a subject of review at the 19th All-Union Conference. For improving the mechanism for carrying out the principles of democratization and glasnost, they proposed, for example, to treat widely in the press the level of prosperity and the quality of life of the various social and nationality groups (providing a comparative analysis and assessment of the republics and major cities); to more frequently provide information on the work of the party and soviet bodies in defending the principles of social justice; to direct specific criticism to those leading cadres defaming the title of communist; in the large cities (such as Moscow and Leningrad) to publish newspapers with an appendix which would treat the work of the local soviet bodies in carrying out social programs and the activities of deputies.

In many proposals, one can trace the notion of the need for a legal support for the principles of glasnost and criticism. Public opinion supports the idea of working

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out a Law Governing Glasnost. A majority of those questioned pointed out that the glasnost mechanism work poorly on the level of the labor collectives and in the party committees (bureaus), while the soviets and administration do not take the proper measures to broaden the democratic principles in the life of the labor collective. In the given instance, it is a question not only of a poor level of information but also the ineffectiveness of the critical comments by the rank-and-file communists the opinion of whom is far from always taken into account by the leadership of the enterprises or institutions.

This is also shown by the sampling data of our sociological survey of a number of labor collectives.

In the opinion of a majority of the communists, the party committees (buros) do not properly support the realization of the glasnost and criticism principles. This applies primarily to such areas of activity by the party organizations as personnel work, supervision and checking on the execution of the adopted decisions, increasing the role of the elected party aktiv and supervision over the activities of the administration. Only on the questions of ideological work, the communists feel, do the party committees (buros) carry out their role in directing the restructuring. But in this instance, the question arises: "How is it possible to restructure ideological work, establish the principles of glasnost, complete information and criticism in the life of a labor collective if in fact little changes for the better?" Under such conditions, democratization has, in essence, a hypothetical, formal nature and is not a working mechanism which ensures the interests of the workers.

The reasons for such a state of affairs derive, in our view, from the general situation in which the process of democratization is occurring in the studied labor collectives. What is characteristic of this? First of all, many important questions touching upon the interests of the workers are far from always resolved on democratic bases. These, in particular, include such problems as promotion, salary increases, the distribution of bonuses, worker certification and the resolving of social and particularly housing problems. To the question "Have you personally experienced the influence of the changes related to the democratization of management?" only 24 percent of the questioned CPSU members replied affirmatively, as did 10.5 percent of the Komsomol members and 12 percent of the nonparty persons. A predominant portion of those questioned answered this question in the negative. It can be concluded that the administrative command approach is still widely found in the leadership of the enterprises and institutions where the management takes important decisions "behind closed doors," without considering the opinion of the collective. Only 11.4 percent of the CPSU members questioned, 5.4 percent of the Komsomol members and 7.9 percent of the nonparty persons felt that the administration considered the collective's opinion in resolving important questions.

Possibly it is not completely accidental that, in feeling themselves completed "safe," certain administrators, regardless of certain shortcomings and failings known to the entire collective at work, continue to hold their leading positions. A majority of those questioned drew attention to this.

To the question of whether the principles of glasnost and criticism had become firmly established in the life of your collective, just 6.5 percent replied yes; 47.5 percent felt that there had been certain changes but it was still too early to speak about the permanency of these principles; 28 percent pointed out that much is criticized but little is done; almost 17 percent felt that frequently the criticism is replaced by demagoguery; 8.9 percent voiced the opinion that glasnost and criticism, as before, were absent (it is worthy of note that among the Komsomol members and nonparty persons questioned, this indicator was almost twice as high).

Almost one-third could say nothing definite about the role of their party committee (buro) in the leadership of restructuring. Due to the absence of information, around 65 percent of the communists could not assess the position of the party committee (buro) secretary toward those persons who violate the standards of intraparty life and the Bylaw requirements. Some 44.5 percent of those questioned pointed out that the opinion of the rank-and-file communists was not sufficiently considered.

For many other indicators, the judgment of the communists of how the matter of information concerning the life of the labor collective had been organized was also not higher than satisfactory or even poor. In the given instance it is an issue of the questions involving the work of the primary and shop party organizations at the enterprises, the sections and brigades, the decisions approved at party meeting and the course of their fulfillment, as well as the activities of the social organizations and the labor collective councils.

The primary party organizations play an insignificant role in the question of defending the interests and rights of the rank-and-file communists. This was pointed out by more than one-half of all the communists questioned. Some 42 percent mentioned that a communist who speaks out with just criticism is far from always defended and almost 17 percent feel that he is in no way protected against all sorts of unpleasantnesses.

All of these listed aspects undoubtedly tell on the nature of intraparty relations. Some 31.5 percent of those questioned commented that group interests were widespread, 22.2 percent pointed to careerism; 20.7 percent to indifference and hypocrisy; 18.6 percent to sycophancy; an equal number pointed to bureaucratism and presumption. For precisely these reasons, probably, the activeness of the rank-and-file communists is low and this serves as a brake on restructuring. This was pointed out by more than 44 percent of the respondents.

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In summing up, it can be stated that the restructuring in the work the primary party organizations is not a simple matter. Many communists as yet do not see real changes involving an improvement in intraparty relations or the contribution of their party organization to the processes of democratization and glasnost.

Of course, we cannot mechanically present the conclusions of the conducted sociological research as a general trend in the development of intraparty democracy. At the same time, they still do provide, in our opinion, an opportunity to see the weak points of the primary party organizations in the area of the democratization of intraparty life and the life of the labor collectives and to adopt the necessary measures for eliminating them and for instilling proper order.

Footnotes

1. The research was prepared and conducted by V.A. Yatskov (leader), V.N. Amelin, L.F. Verdnikov, Yu.B. Vostrikov, V.I. Galokhon, V.A. Oznobkin, G.I. Osadchaya, Yu.P. Te (leader of preparation group), A.A. Khokhlov and T.N. Yudina.

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Regimental Commander Notes First Impressions of Theses
18000480 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian
28 May 88 p 1

[Article by Lt Colonel O. Nikonov and Major A. Bugay, KRASNAYA ZVEZDA correspondent, Ural Military District (by telephone): "CPSU Central Committee Theses: Initial Reactions"]

[Text] The regimental subunit returned from the exercise as night was falling. Usually, the largest crowd would gather in the premises of the party committee. On this occasion, however, the center of gravity had shifted to the commanding officer's office. Although he was on he had come to headquarters to find out, at the crack of dawn as they say, what the people had learned. Something else had also happened, however!...

Although not everyone had had the opportunity to look at the fresh newspaper, for only yesterday they were still in the field, some officers had already become familiar with the CPSU Central Committee theses for the 19th All-Union Party Conference. It was thus that we witnessed the initial reactions and live exchange of views.

"Personally," Lt. Colonel V. Onchurov, party organization secretary, said, "I have now gained, how can I put it more precisely, spiritual firmness. Let me explain: of late the situation has not been entirely clear. The news in the newspapers was explosive. One newspaper would claim

something while another would question it. I then did some reading and realized that virtually all of my views were being supported. It was accurately said that during the period of perestroyka the party's vanguard role must be strengthened. Currently the party is actively formulating the ideology of renovation, of our entire new life. Look at what is being said about the primary party organizations as the political nucleus of any collective, which must be influenced through the party members. You understand, through the party members. Speaking openly, this does not happen here, for in frequent cases we hold our party meetings formally. Some party members show no interest whatsoever. It is only of late that good signs have appeared. Why? Because exigency toward all party members has increased. I personally especially approve of that section in the theses which discusses the expediency of having a sociopolitical certification of the party members as an efficient means of self-cleansing and strengthening the party.

"There is also something else, something which concerns me a great deal, and which I must mention: The matter of historical thought. The mass information media have already done a great deal in this respect, and today we cannot do without it: the soldiers are asking, but some officers, alas, occasionally become confused, having failed to master the situation. Recently, a comrade who shall remain unnamed told me: What are you being excited about? If those up there want it, they will pull all the stops; if not, no one will find out anything. Such is the result of the impact of the publication of articles, such as N. Andreyeva's in SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA. Yet the theses clearly state that the policy of openness and glasnost and free discussion of the problems of our past and present will be pursued by the party consistently. This too is inspiring."

"I did not think that I would see you here so early," the regimental commander said, joining in the conversation. "We came back last night, and have barely had time to shut our eyes. It is pleasing to see that good work was done at the exercise and that one can feel the pulse beat of life.

"This conversation cannot be calm. We had been waiting for this document. I read the theses and I understand Viktor Ivanovich Onchurov's feelings. Our views agree. This applies, for instance, to the need to enhance the theoretical standard of ideological and political work. The local press informs us that many informal youth associations exist in Sverdlovsk. Alongside valuable suggestions, however, there also are political demagogic, confusion and, in some cases, deliberate speculations. This is saddening. Unfortunately, for the time being we have nothing with which to counter this.

"Incidentally, we are also ignoring the question of participation in the work of the soviet authorities. I was told by Colonel Volkov, the former regimental commander, that he was virtually unable to influence the solution of problems related to land use, environmental protection

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and youth upbringing. He was told to mind his own business: if preparations for army service are being discussed, then you may speak. But why only then? The problems are numerous. It is no accident that the theses discuss extensively problems related to improvements in our governmental system.

"Naturally, at this point we cannot fail to mention democracy. I could see people smile at the idea that it is precisely the commanding officer who was speaking of democracy. You criticized me at a meeting, claiming that I was virtually making advances to the ensigns. Understand, comrades, that I do not. One must work with every single one of them, for they are not alike, and every one of them has his own world outlook, not according to instructions but on a one-to-one basis. It is then that no one would try to be crafty. This too involves democracy. Everyone must have the right to speak, and if you happen to think differently, say it. No one should be afraid in this case, for we have already lost a great deal out of fear of having our own opinion. This, in my view, leads to violations of regulations. One must consult with every commander and party member. This guarantees success. I will then make a decision, based on collective opinion. Am I not right?"

Something was also bothering Captain A. Goncharov, the regimental propagandist:

"Perestroyka exposed the grave disparity between the level of propaganda and the existing political situation in the country. Could we fail to see our lecturers' confusion? It could not be concealed. I have already voiced my opinion to the party committee, so that what I am saying is nothing new. I am mentioning this, however, to draw attention to the following: the theses are a political program which enables us to understand more profoundly current and future processes.

"It is not only in political classes that we discuss the political situation in the country. For example, Senior Lieutenants Kazakov and Yevseyenko told me of the stormy discussions which took place in their subunits regarding newspaper and journal articles. Some people receive with their mail clippings from the local press. Let me tell you this: an extensive amount of information is reaching the army and one must be in full possession of the facts to be able to interpret it accurately.

"Here is something else that disturbs me: The theses raise particularly strongly the question of the artist's responsibility for the fate of the country and the moral status of society. It is easy to shake up foundations. But you, comrade writers and journalists, describe for us the real commander, so that his image will not be stilted but will be remembered a lifetime. Where are the Serpilins of today? Have they vanished from the army or are the artists unwilling to see them? Where are the Furmanovs? They too cannot be found. This is a matter less of creative ability than, above all, of civic stance. I firmly believe that wherever "privilege" is found it must be

written about. However, it is necessary to expose the roots, to generate disgust of such cases and not to relish them. They should not be depicted as 'daring discoveries'.

"Few people have also thought of the fact that in the course of his 2 years of military service the soldier will have seen more than 200 feature films."

Unquestionably, today we are mentioning merely the very first impressions from reading the thesis. They are as yet to be studied profoundly and discussed comprehensively. But we can already confidently say that the thoughts, assessments and conclusions and, finally, the great spiritual power which are concentrated within this party document will help us, party members in the army, to develop a clearer attitude toward the ways and means needed in solving our vital problems.

05003

Kryuchkov Outlines Tasks in Restructuring Party Cadres

18000443 PARTIYNAYA ZHIZN in Russian No 11
Jun 88 (signed to press 24 May 88) pp 9-18

[Article by G. Kryuchkov under the "Toward the 19th All-Union Conference of the CPSU" rubric: "Principles of Party Cadre Work Under the Conditions of Perestroyka"; the article is part of PARTIYNAYA ZHIZN's "Young Communist's Correspondence School" series]

[Text] The crucial, tempestuous time our country is going through, a time of profound revolutionary change in all spheres of life in society has illuminated with new force the growing role of the Communist Party—the tested vanguard of the Soviet people, which is guiding its multifaceted activity in the construction of socialism and communism. Party leadership, like political leadership, always entails the placement of cadres in the key posts in society, their selection and education.

It was K. Marx and F. Engels who noted that ideas in themselves, no matter how correct and attractive they may be, "cannot accomplish anything whatsoever. The implementation of ideas requires people who must use practical power." Lenin's pronouncements on this score are well known: "Politics are conducted through people"; no policy can be carried out unless it is expressed in the appointment and movement of personnel, in the distribution of the party's forces; if the Central Committee is stripped of its right to dispose over the placement of cadres, then "wherein will its political leadership consist then? Who will lead if not people and how will they lead if they do not distribute?"; after the key question of the socialist revolution—the question of power—was resolved economic power was concentrated in the hands of the Soviet state and its international

position was consolidated, "the whole point is not political power but the ability to govern, the ability to place people correctly..." Cadres are the holy of holies in the activity of the ruling party.

All this also determines the essence, the content of cadre policy, which is one of the basic functions of political leadership, a reliable instrument that enables the party to attain its objectives, to formulate and implement a scientifically substantiated strategy that corresponds to the interests of the people, to the tasks of the strengthening and development of socialism. In the broad sense, cadre policy also includes the formulation of objectives, principles, and basic directions of the effort to secure the party's political line and practical activity based on these principles with the aid of people who are dedicated to socialism and trained in practical activity relating to the selection, placement, training, and education of such cadres.

The experience of history shows that it is simply impossible to secure the leading role of the party in society without active, well-conceived, and effective cadre policy. In order to perform its revolutionary-transformational mission successfully, in order to realize the goals of its program, the Marxist-Leninist party must keep cadre policy firmly in its hands and must not relinquish control of the selection and placement of people in a single sphere of public life—be it economics or various links of the political system, the cultural sphere, or the mass media.

It seems appropriate to emphasize this thought in view of unceasing attacks by bourgeois ideologues on the leading role of communist and working parties in socialist countries and their right to assign people to decisive posts. It would be a mistake to underestimate attempts to compromise the cadre policy of Marxist-Leninist parties, to knock this tested weapon out of their hands by directing fire against workers dedicated to the cause of socialism, by striking blows against the cadre corps which bears the enormous burden of the effort to organize the masses, to manage economic and sociocultural construction. All this once again emphasizes the timeliness of Lenin's behest: "As long as the ruling party governs, as long as this party must resolve all questions concerning various appointments, you must not permit the most important state appointments to be made by anyone other than party leaders."

The CPSU closely connects the fate of revolutionary processes in our society after April 1985 to the able implementation of a principled, dynamic cadre policy, to the further improvement of work with cadres. The success of perestroika depends to a decisive degree on cadres' understanding of the necessity and essence of revolutionary reforms, on their ability to manage in the new way, to overcome inertia and routine, to act decisively, boldly, and competently. Considering this, as emphasized in the new redaction of the party program adopted by the 27th Congress, the CPSU through its

cadre policy will "facilitate the promotion of politically mature, highly moral, competent, and communists and noncommunists who are full of initiative to leadership posts..."

CONSISTENTLY IMPLEMENT LENINIST PRINCIPLES. One more fundamentally important conclusion follows from the many years of construction of the new society: success in realizing the goals of cadre policy increases in proportion to the strictness and consistency with which the practically tested Leninist principles of working with cadres are observed. The most important of them are the following.

The CPSU proceeds first of all from the premise that the purpose of cadre policy is to defend the attainments of socialism, the interests of the working class which, with the victory of the socialist system in our country, have become the interests of the entire Soviet people; to affirm in the leading party and state links the leading positions of the working class, whose enormous political experience, ideology, high conscientiousness, will, implacability toward shortcomings, feeling of social justice organize and unify all our society, make it possible to look forward with certainty and optimism. The party attaches paramount importance to the promotion of people who have a practical and labor background, who have a good understanding of the working people's needs and concerns, who have been educated in the spirit of proletarian intolerance of all falsity, idle talk, dishonesty, moral unscrupulousness—of everything that is incompatible with socialist principles.

Cadre policy also performs a subordinate function. Its purpose is to secure the implementation of the party's general line and political course. Hence the demands that: (1) the orientation and content of cadre policy must correspond to the concrete conditions and tasks of society's given stage of development; (2) important cadre issues must be promptly resolved in the interest of raising the level of leadership of state, economic, and cultural construction, of all processes in social life, and in attaining political objectives set by the party.

The promotion of people with due regard to their political, business, and moral qualities so that leadership, in V. I. Lenin's words, "would always be in the hands of thoroughly competent people who guarantee success of the matter" is a key principle or, it can be said, the core of CPSU cadre policy. The selection of cadres on the basis of friendship, countrymanship, kinship, and other nonbusinesslike consideration is incompatible with this principle. In this regard it should be emphasized that all the country's citizens, regardless of origin, social status, sex, or nationality are eligible to occupy positions of leadership in state organs and public organizations.

Among other principles, we should mention the need to secure the optimal combination of experienced and young cadres in the executive corps and the continuous

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influx and more intensive use of new, fresh blood, which is the guarantee of the continuity of leadership and a prerequisite to the consistency of the party's revolutionary course.

The observance of democratic principles—collegiality, glasnost, all-round consideration of the opinion of work collectives and the community in resolving cadre problems—is an indispensable prerequisite to the implementation of the indicated principles. These principles were also substantiated in compressed form by V. I. Lenin in the famous demand: "pose the selection of the best workers on a broad, systematic, and open basis..."

The continuous strengthening of the intellectual potential of our society on the basis of the growth of the educational and cultural level of the working class, all Soviet people, and the continuous expansion of cadre potential is the concrete result of the practical implementation of the party's cadre policy based on Leninist principles.

As the February (1988) Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee noted, during the years of Soviet power the nation's educational institutions trained more than 70 million workers and over 35 million specialists with secondary specialized and more than 22 million specialists with higher education. A new socialist intelligentsia has been formed together with its national detachments. In 1987, there were 35 million specialists at work in the national economy, including 15 million with higher education; 11.5 million specialists are members or candidate members of the party. Trained cadres of workers, specialists, scientists, party, soviet, and economic leaders are working in every branch of the national economy, in every sphere of social activity. Cadres in our armed forces, state security, and the Soviet foreign political service staunchly defend the Motherland's interests.

Cadres dedicated to the party's cause, who are in the vanguard of the struggle to implement the party's political line, were named in the Political Report of the CPSU Central Committee to the 27th Congress as our principal, our most precious possession. Accomplishments in the construction of the new society, further progress of perestroika, and the deepening of the process of modernization in all spheres of the nation's life are also integrally associated with their creative, initiative-filled activity and the all-round improvement of cadre work.

It should also be remembered that the consequences of the cult of personality; subjectivistic errors; voluntaristic excesses; the psychology of stagnation and mediocrity that has struck policy in the management sphere and cadre policy; and the administrative-command system of party-state leadership of the nation, which inhibits socialism's creative and humanistic potential have for a long time affected and continue to affect the formation of cadres and their activity.

Subjectivism and protectionism have penetrated cadre work. Kinship, countrymanship, friendship, personal liking and antipathy, and departmental aspirations have frequently been decisive factors in the advancement of cadres. Control over the activity of executives, especially control "from below," has been especially weakened. A considerable percentage of the leaders were beyond criticism. The program principle of systematic renewal of executive bodies has practically ceased to exist. The necessary stability of cadres has frequently given way to their immobility and stagnation. At the same time, in the basic link—at the level of the enterprise, construction project, kolkhoz, and sovkhoz—there has been over-administrating in work with cadres and their replacement has been unjustifiably frequent. The reduction of exchange of cadres between central and local organs and between union republics and regions, the underestimation of their ideological and internationalistic temper fostered localistic tendencies, national narrowness and self-conceit, and feelings of dependency. In such a situation, flagrant abuses during the period of stagnation by executives during the period of stagnation in Uzbekistan, Kazakhstan, Moldavia, Turkmenia, Rostov Oblast, in Moscow, and in certain other regions, in the ministries of internal affairs and foreign trade.

The technocratic approach in cadre policy and in party work in general led to many undesirable consequences. A considerable percentage of the cadres lacked political training and consequently a political approach—the ability to analyze living practice, to conceptualize the perspective, the deep interrelationship of economic processes and processes of a spiritual, moral order, and to foresee the political and social consequences of the decisions that are made. The commanding, speechifying, imperious style of administrative pressure, the striving to keep everything clenched in one's fist, and the tendency to duplicate and supplant soviet and economic organs became deeply rooted in the practice of party committees.

The situation that existed in the cadre corps and in the party had a negative impact on the socioeconomic and political situation in the country in general. And it was not by chance that the elimination of stagnation phenomena among cadres who were responsible for distortions in the implementation of cadre policy and the removal of leaders who were hopelessly out of date, who did not realize the chance given them by the party, and who used their high official position for personal, selfish aims became one of the party's first steps in the perestroika process.

Serious changes have taken place in the makeup of the Secretariat and department chiefs of the Central Committee, of the nation's government, and party and soviet cadres at the local level. In 3 years following the April (1985) Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee, 61 percent of the first secretaries of obkoms, kraykoms, and

central committees of the communist parties of union republics and almost two-thirds of the secretaries of party gorkoms and raykoms have been replaced.

Such a high percentage of replacement of leading party cadres was a forced but necessary measure. Without this it would have been impossible to destroy the inhibition mechanism that formed over many years and to normalize the moral and psychological situation in society. Many young, energetic people who have shown themselves to be true champions of perestroyka have been promoted to leadership positions.

The CPSU Central Committee drew uncompromising lessons from the past, considered the scale and complexity of the problems confronting the party and the nation in the perestroyka process, and concluded that it was necessary not merely to improve the organization of cadre work and to correct excesses in this area, but also to seriously update all cadre policy and to make it truly modern, to connect it inseparably with the key directions of the struggle for socioeconomic acceleration and the renewal of all spheres in the life of society. The problem was essentially to develop such a system of work as would ensure a high degree of capability of all links of the party and state, of our entire social organism and would make it possible to identify, nurture, and promote people who are capable, competent, and boundlessly dedicated to the cause of perestroyka and that would at the same time reliably close the way to careerists, degenerates, and time-servers and make it impossibility for executives to escape scrutiny.

The January (1987) Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee, which discussed the question "On Perestroyka and the Party's Cadre Policy," played an enormous part in the formulation of such policy, in restoring Leninist approaches in work with cadres. For the first time in the entire history of our party, problems of working with cadres were examined as part of a complex, in all their aspects, on a broad sociopolitical plane at a Plenum of the Central Committee. Comprehensive analysis of lessons of the past, of the character of the present moment, of tasks of the future made it possible to formulate a whole conception of cadre support for the perestroyka strategy and for attaining the party's current and long-range goals.

THE ATTITUDE TOWARD PERESTROYKA—THE MAIN CRITERION IN THE EVALUATION OF PERSONNEL. As is known, the new situation in the nation, which has formed in the process of the revolutionary renewal of society, demanded the rethinking of the role of the party as the vanguard of the people, the total implementation of Lenin's understanding of the essence of party leadership as political leadership based on the conviction and organization of people, on their unification on the basis of socialism, which precludes dictatorship, approaches based on administrative pressure, the

predominant orientation toward prohibitions, the mindless obeying of orders, and the supplanting of state organs, economic organs, and social organizations by party committees.

New demands are made on cadres and on their business and ideological-moral outlook. "The party," the decree of the January (1987) Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee emphasizes, "will promote and support those who not only endorse perestroyka but who have actively joined in the renewal process, who are giving their all for the common cause, and who know how to achieve success. Those who are unable to change things for the better in their assigned area, who remain indifferent to change, who cling to the old are not entitled to occupy an executive post."

The attitude toward perestroyka and real action to implement it as the decisive criterion for evaluating personnel are essentially the synoptic indicator that reflect their political, business, and moral qualities in a unity, in a complex that makes it possible to see those who are sincerely in favor of perestroyka and those who merely adapt themselves to it by resorting to verbal mimicry, to get rid of conservatives and phrasemongers, of those who suffer from the "infallibility" and "irreplaceability" syndrome, of those who wish to inhibit or even reverse the reform process.

If we speak about the political qualities of cadres, the question today is not merely dedication to the cause of the party, to the cause of socialism, but is primarily a question of the degree to which executive cadres understand the ideology and politics of perestroyka and to which they are able to implement it, to impart their conviction to the masses of working people, to inspire them with the party's ideas, and to correctly construct relations with people. V. I. Lenin taught communists: "...Win for yourselves the leading role through your energy, through your ideological influence (and, naturally, not your rank)..." It is important that executives not avoid ticklish issues, that they objectively evaluate and fully take into account the level of consciousness, culture, and activism of the masses, that they decisively renounce attempts to command and foist their will, that they persevere in mastering the ability to live and work under the conditions of the intensifying democratization of public life and broad glasnost.

Loyalty to principles, revolutionariness of thought and actions, unity of words and actions, and endurance are the demands that are invariably made on cadres and on all party and state activity. Urgent tasks include: strengthening the ideological indoctrination of cadres, their inculcation with a deep understanding of the political meaning of work in any assigned area, developing their ability to closely connect party strategy and tactics with organizational, propagandistic, and educational activity, and emphasizing state and public interests. Party organizations must devote daily attention to the

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inculcation of cadres with deep internationalistic convictions, with a sense of loyalty to the friendship and brotherhood of our country's peoples, with sophistication in interethnic contacts, and with the ability to withstand all manifestations of nationalism, chauvinism, localistic tendencies, and dependency.

The content of their business qualities is also enriched. There is a special timeliness today in Lenin's words that "no conscientiousness, no guaranteed authority can replace what is in the given case basic: specifically, a knowledge of matters..." Ever increasing significance is acquired by such qualities as the feeling for the new, initiative, boldness, the willingness to assume responsibility for oneself, the desire to learn to work in the new way, the ability to formulate a task correctly and to carry it through to the end, and demandingness toward oneself and others.

The implementation of radical economic reform; the transition to economic methods of management, to full cost accounting and self-financing; and the broad introduction of self-management principles in the activity of work collectives require now as never before that the people in leadership be thoroughly versed in machinery and technology, in the economics and organization of production, in modern management techniques, and that they be capable organizers.

The criterion of competence and the knowledge of machinery at the level of the latest advances of scientific-technological progress, and socialist enterprise are in general acquiring truly decisive importance. This advances to the forefront the need for radical improvement of training of specialists and managers, for their periodic retraining and advanced training, for introducing them to the progressive experience of management, for the organization of instruction in the fundamental principles of economics. Specific avenues of realizing these tasks were enunciated by the February (1988) Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee and by a number of decrees of the CPSU Central Committee and the USSR Council of Ministers.

The perestroyka process is integrally connected with the strengthening of the moral principles of socialist society, with the Soviet way of life, with the strict observance of the principle of social justice that naturally inheres in our system. And this naturally raises the demands that are made on the moral qualities of cadres. The party tries to see to it that all communists, especially those in executive positions must—through their attitude toward their work, through their entire make-up—be exemplary followers of the Leninist ethic of bolshevism, ideological steadfastness, faithfulness to one's word, decency, incorruptibility, and intolerance of any deviations from the norms of socialist morality, and must affirm high party principle and crystal honesty in all things—official and

public activity, in relations between people, in the struggle against views and morals that are alien to socialism. The issue is formulated as follows: the higher the post that is entrusted to a communist, the more demanding he must be toward himself.

The working people want to see in their leaders people who are not only competent and businesslike but who are also morally impeccable: modest, truthful, intolerant of rudeness, flattery and adulation, who know how to understand a person; who are capable of speaking the language of truth and of hearing the truth however unpleasant it may be. They react strongly to improper behavior, abuses, boastfulness, haughtiness, conceit, insincerity, bootlicking, servility, drunkenness, moral unscrupulousness, and money-grubbing in individual persons. They cannot react otherwise because all this is incompatible with the very spirit of perestroyka, with the party line on cleansing the life of our society of everything that contradicts its socialist foundations.

Concern for the purity and honesty of leaders is the paramount duty of every party organization. The party demands public exposure and public condemnation of those who consciously ignore our principles and the invocation of the full severity of party regulations and Soviet laws against those who attempt to shield swindlers, plunderers, and extortioners. Not even elements of führerism or leaderism can be tolerated in the ranks of the CPSU.

DEMOCRATIZATION OF CADRE POLICY—ONE OF THE GUARANTEES OF THE IRREVERSIBILITY OF PERESTROYKA. One of the main tasks confronting cadre policy today is to create reliable guarantees—through the well-conceived selection and rational placement of personnel, through the establishment of effective oversight over their activity "from above" and especially "from below"—that the reform process begun in April 1985 will not be halted, will be continued to the end; that previous errors will not be repeated; and that there will be full-blooded development of our society on the socialist road. Essentially the problem is to seriously reduce or nullify the element of randomness in the solution of important political and state issues, to exclude the possibility of subjectivism at all levels of our political system. The party links the realization of this task with the all-round development of socialist democracy, with the intensification of the socialist self-government of the people, with the direct and real participation of the working people in the resolution of all problems in the life of society, with the considerable strengthening of their influence on the selection of cadres, and with the exercise of oversight over their work. The line of all-round democratization of the cadre process, the creation of conditions for competition of minds and talent are the key idea and the core of the party's contemporary cadre policy. Lenin's demand that the work of executive organs be open to everyone, that it be carried out in the view of the masses is fundamental here. "The mass," V. I. Lenin

said, "must have the right to choose responsible leaders for itself. The mass must have the right to replace them and to verify the tiniest step of their activity."

What are the basic directions in the democratization of CPSU cadre policy?

First of all: appointment of leaders by election and the reform of its mechanism. The introduction of elections of economic cadres—from masters and brigade leaders, shift chiefs, shop chiefs to directors of enterprises and heads of structural units of associations, the authorization of work collective councils everywhere to address a wide range of production, social, and cadre problems, and the expansion of the competitive system of promotion of leaders and specialists in accordance with the principles of the 27th Party Congress and the Law of the USSR on the State Enterprise (Association) are of the greatest importance. Last year, for example, work collectives in industry elected more than 30,000 persons to positions of leadership; in construction—approximately 6000.

It should be remembered that the election of people to executive positions not only does not undermine but to the contrary strengthens one-man rule in work collectives; raises the authority of leaders while at the same time raising their responsibility; and creates an atmosphere of reciprocal demandingness in every collective.

In the words of V. I. Lenin, the election and replacement of officials does not in any way mean that the process of collective labor can be left without a certain measure of leadership, without precisely defining the leader's responsibility, without the strictest procedure created by the unity of the leader's will. Neither railroads, nor transport, nor large machines and enterprises can function in general without the unity of will that connects all working people into a single economic organ that functions like clockwork. The correct understanding of this principle today acquires the greatest importance.

In the system of cardinal measures to restructure our political system, a special place is occupied by the reform of the electoral system and the creation of prerequisites in order to secure the real participation of the working people in all stages of the election process, to give them the possibility of expressing their attitude toward a broader circle of candidates, and to eliminate elements of formalism from the actual voting process. Many new approaches were tested during the large-scale experiment on elections to local Soviets of People's Deputies in June of last year.

In the general channel of the democratization of Soviet society, there are also measures that are directed toward intraparty democracy, in particular, toward the reform of the mechanism for electing executive party organs. The practice of electing party group organizers, secretaries of shop and primary party organizations, and secretaries of party gorkoms and raykoms from two or more

candidates by closed (secret) ballot. In 1987, 120 secretaries of rayon and city party committees out of 909 persons nominated for these posts were elected in this way at plenums.

Thus appointment by election coupled with the broad application of competitive principles and the nomination of alternate candidates is becoming the basic method of forming the makeup of executive cadres in all spheres of life in our society, including the economic sphere. The question of implementing the party line in cadre policy also arises in a new way under these conditions. The CPSU, by retaining the placement of cadres in key positions in its hands, tries to purge cadre work of bureaucratic distortions, the foisting of candidates, and the practice of transferring to other executive posts officials who have failed or compromised themselves. While party organs can naturally recommend candidates to various posts, these recommendations must not be in the nature of dictates and must not contradict the will of work collectives. As noted at a meeting at the CPSU Central Committee with heads of the mass media, ideological institutions, and creative unions on 7 May 1988, there is a need for mechanisms that are in continuous operation, that promote talented, energetic, truly able people for leadership through public opinion. This is better and more reliable than appointments "from above."

Measures implemented in accordance with the decisions of the January (1987) Plenum of the CPSU to expand openness and glasnost in cadre work are facilitating the selection of such people. Working people must know who is nominated for positions of leadership, must have the possibility of expressing their opinion with the certainty that it will be heard and attentively examined. In this regard there must be nothing reminiscent of the "secrets of the court of Madrid."

Under the new conditions, the center of gravity in cadre work is shifting to the study of people, to the verification of their qualities in practical activities, to the ascertainment of the opinion of the community, of work collectives, and of party organizations regarding nominees.

A separate word should be said in this regard about primary party organizations that in accordance with the Regulations of the CPSU adopted by the 27th Congress are actively participating in the implementation of the party's cadre policy. As a basic link in the struggle for perestroika and for acceleration, they are called upon to safeguard party principles and to decisively oppose any departure from them. Not a single question concerning cadres—their promotion and transfer, rewards and punishments—should be decided without the participation and consideration of the opinion of primary party organizations.

A special place in the restructuring of the CPSU's cadre policy is occupied by the consistent implementation of the principle in the program which holds that no leader,

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no executive organ, and no party organization is beyond oversight, beyond criticism. The party's Central Committee deems it necessary to develop a precise system of oversight over the work of leading cadres, to devise a mechanism for the regular accounting of elected and appointed officials before work collectives and the population, before voters, and before their colleagues. Party, trade union, and Komsomol conferences; plenums of party, trade union committees; sessions of Soviets of People's Deputies; the activity of soviets' permanent commissions; and the practice of deputy inquiries must be used to this end.

The accountability mechanism includes as a necessary element the authorization of work collectives, meetings, plenums, sessions, and other forums to evaluate the activity of leaders up to and including raising the question of recalling officials who fail to cope with their obligations or who compromise themselves.

The certification of leading cadres, specialists, personnel belonging to the apparatus of party committees, state organs, and social organizations is an effective form of exercising effective oversight over the work of cadres and of stimulating their business qualifications. After the 27th CPSU Congress, decisions were made by the CPSU Central Committee, the highest organs of state power, and by central executive organs of mass organizations on the certification procedure, which now applies to all personnel in their apparatus. As already stated, the attitude toward perestroika, toward the task of accelerating socioeconomic development, and real activity to realize this task is a decisive criterion in the evaluation of cadres.

The effectiveness of this system of public oversight has been convincingly confirmed by reports of elected party organs on the leadership of perestroika that have been presented at plenums of party committees and communist meetings in accordance with the decisions of the June (1987) Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee. Based on the discussion of such reports, 20 party obkom secretaries have been replaced and more than 500 members of gorkom and raykom buros and more than 89,000 members of party committees and buros, including 20,500 secretaries of primary party organizations have been recalled.

The reliable way of realizing one of the main tasks in cadre policy—the task of securing the natural flow of the cadre process, of resolving urgent cadre problems in the interest of preventing the "overexposure" of officials, of preventing stagnation in the cadre corps, and the unsubstantiated, hasty replacement and reshuffling of cadres, is seen to lie in the development of a clear-cut system of effective oversight and in the periodic mandatory accounting of leading cadres.

In the course of preparations for the 19th All-Union Party Conference, there were also many proposals on the concretization of the point in the program and the

regulations concerning the systematic renewal of elected executive organs: the establishment of a maximum term of office in elected posts in party and state organs.

In a talk with first secretaries of some party obkoms in October 1985, M. S. Gorbachev said in this regard: "Having adopted a line on the stabilization of cadres at one time, without noticing it we overstepped the necessary rational limit. And in a number of cases, this led to stagnation; cadres grew older and in some places we did not have the necessary reserve. Practice showed, for example, that 10 years is probably the maximum length of time a person should spend as first secretary of a party raykom in the same rayon. The secretary should then be transferred to other work, if only horizontally, to another rayon. Otherwise there will inevitably be stagnation."

In order to prevent stagnation in the work and to form cadres who have varied experience and are open to the new and progressive, the 27th CPSU Congress deemed it advisable to make it a practice to transfer officials who have been in the same post for a long time to other organizations and regions, to exchange cadres between center and localities. This is also important in order to see to it that the work with cadres follows the demands of Lenin's policy on nationalities and that it actively resists localistic tendencies, narrow departmentalism, ethnic narrowness, and the tendency toward isolation and aloofness.

Cadres must not stay too long in any sector and must not become a brake on progress. A leader who cannot answer the new demands, who cannot run things according to the dictates of the time has the obligation to leave regardless of his services in the past. Incidentally, the understanding of this fact is also an indicator of an official's political maturity.

The directives of the 27th Party Congress and the January (1987) Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee on the expansion of the social base of cadre potential, on giving every citizen and representatives of all strata of the population equal opportunity to participate directly in the restructuring of state and public life.

This means above all the bolder and broader promotion of youth to executive work, raising the role of the All-Union Komsomol as a reserve for cadres, and assisting the Komsomol in discharging this important social function. Another task is to promote women to executive positions more actively in view of the part they play in our society's economic, social, and spiritual life.

A separate word should be said about the promotion of capable noncommunist organizers. This is a demand of the program and one of Lenin's demands. Vladimir Ilich tirelessly emphasized that there was a great deal of organizational talent among the noncommunist workers, peasants, and intellectuals and that they should be more vigorously promoted to positions of leadership. The striving to have party members as a rule in leading

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positions, which predominated for many years, objectively limited the identification and promotion of talent from among the people, deformed the party's relations with the masses, and encouraged people to join the party as a means of professional advancement. The CPSU Central Committee declared such a practice to be incorrect and stated that the promotion of noncommunist comrades to executive positions to be a fundamental issue.

Finally, it is important to emphasize that in the process of implementing the course of all-round democratization of the life of society and bringing cadre policy into line with the new conditions, the CPSU proceeds from the premise that true democracy does not exist outside the law and above the law and that it has nothing in common with total permissiveness and irresponsibility, anarchy and demagogic, just as it has nothing in common with the administrative itch. The purpose of socialist democracy is to render real service to man, to the collective, and to society; to serve the development of the initiative of the working people, the development of the creative potential of the socialist system, the strengthening of legality and justice, and the development of a healthy moral atmosphere in our society.

The strictest observance of socialist legality is a matter of principle to our party. All organs and all cadres have the obligation to continuously compare their actions against the law. The February (1988) Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee actively supported the idea of organizing instruction in the general principles of law as a unified, integrated state program for all strata of the population, for all our cadres in the center and at the local level.

One more conclusion stems from the foregoing: real concern for cadres is incompatible with a kindly, all-forgiving attitude, with philanthropy, and with playing to the gallery. Party organizations have the obligation to constantly raise their demandingness on cadres, to create an atmosphere of high demandingness, discipline, order, and organization at all levels.

THE CPSU SEES A MOST IMPORTANT, MOST URGENT TASK IN THE WORK WITH CADRES to lie in embodying Leninist ideas and principles in full measure, in developing the initiative of personnel, in the development of conditions for their creative, fruitful activity, for the consistent embodiment of revolutionary slogans of perestroika: more glasnost, more democracy, more socialism.

The party considers that the new problems confronting the nation in the perestroika process must be resolved with the cadres that we have. They must be helped to free themselves of outmoded ideas, to master the new political thinking, the new approaches, the ability to live and work under the conditions of democratization, total glasnost, all-out criticism, broad independence of work collectives, and increasing self-government in the life of

Soviet society. This ability does not come easily and simply. The burden of old conservative habits and the complexity and newness of the problems that have been concentrated in the short, three-year period frequently also make themselves known.

Clarification of the ideas and goals of perestroika, the factors behind it, and the mastery of the ideology of modernization, the content of which was presented in the speech delivered by M. S. Gorbachev, General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, at the February (1988) Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee, in his book *Perestroika and the New Thinking for Our Country and for the Entire World*, and in the PRAVDA editorial article "Principles of Perestroika: Revolutionary Thinking and Actions" acquire exceptional importance in work with cadres under these conditions

The tasks of restructuring require the decisive intensification of all work pertaining to the education of cadres, their ideological and internationalist training, and the inculcation of socialist democratism, which incorporates general, political, and legal culture, a highly developed feeling of responsibility, respect for the law, and a correct attitude toward criticism. Also urgent is the task of reforming the organization of cadre work, of further strengthening the cadre potential, and of improving its quality. This will in large measure be promoted by the implementation of large-scale measures for restructuring the system of education indicated by the February (1988) Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee.

Work with cadres—the core of party leadership. Any question that party organizations address ultimately reduces to the way in which people are assigned to key posts, how they relate to their assigned task, and depends on whether they are capable of implementing the party line. In the process of restructuring and modernizing our political system, as the party and its committees are freed of inappropriate functions, the significance of work with cadres will grow.

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Officials Surveyed on Reaction to Theses
WA1800038 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 1 Jun 88 pp 1,3

[Letters from A. Maleyev, Moscow, CPSU member since 1965, and M. Amirov, director of the Belebeyevskiy "Avtonormal" Plant and deputy in the RSFSR Supreme Soviet, Bashkir ASSR, and article by V. Lichenkov, chief national news editor of TASS and candidate of philosophical sciences, and Ye. Dugiya, deputy chief of the Ideology Department of the Scientific Research Institute for the Study and Summarization of Practice in Party, Soviet, and Ideological Work of the Academy of Social Sciences attached to the CPSU Central Committee and candidate of philosophical sciences, under the "We Discuss the Theses of the CPSU Central Committee for the 19th All-Union Party Conference" rubric: "Proven

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by the Progress of Restructuring—Rapid Analysis of the Opinions of Party Officials at the Rayon and City Level”—first two paragraphs are editorial summary]

[Text] The Theses of the CPSU Central Committee for the 19th All-Union Party Congress have put up for discussion of party members and all the Soviet people even the fundamental issues of restructuring in the activity of party committees. How urgent they are is indicated by the results of the regular experiment in rapid analysis of the work style of party committees under the conditions of restructuring which is being conducted by the main national news editorial staff of TASS together with the Scientific Research Institute for the Study and Summarization of Practice in Party, Soviet, and Ideological Work of the Academy of Social Sciences attached to the CPSU Central Committee.

About 100 party gorkoms and raykoms in RSFSR took part in the survey that was conducted. The overwhelming majority of secretaries of party committees (more than 80 percent of the number surveyed) expressed firm conviction of the need for serious changes in the procedure for shaping elective party bodies and support the provisions of the Theses to that effect.

Certification Needed [Maleyev letter]

First I would like to express through your newspaper sincere solidarity with and full support of the proposal carried in the press about conducting an exacting certification of all CPSU members. I am deeply convinced that restructuring must be guided by people free of the virus of narrow-mindedness, bureaucracy, embezzlement, extortion, protectionism, by people with a clear conscience. But do all party members meet these high requirements today?

Not, of course, if we judge by how things are going. So we need first of all to purge the ranks of the party of those who are not on the restructuring road, of those who are in favor of it only in words, while in their deeds they set up obstacles.

I put forth the following proposal for consideration of the 19th all-union party conference: to supplement Paragraph 9 of the CPSU Bylaws with the following provision, which might be stated approximately this way: “A party member who commits theft, engages in speculation, abuses his official position, or is caught in other acts that do injury to socialist property and the ethical principles of Soviet society, regardless of past merits and the position occupied, shall be expelled from the ranks of the party and deprived of the right of subsequent reinstatement.”

I think this would precisely meet the high requirements of our time and would correspond to the spirit and goals of revolutionary restructuring.

Under the Surveillance of the Masses [Amirov letter]

The Theses have raised the question of the advisability of setting up a system of combined social-state oversight that would be under the jurisdiction of the elective

bodies of government. As a member of the oblast People's Control Committee, I have quite often pondered why our effort is not very effective.

One of the reasons, we feel, is that the activity of people's control entities is largely burdened with an “economic” bias. Controllers' attention is concentrated predominantly on quantitative indicators (short deliveries of products, falling behind schedules, failure to complete projects, and so on), and has little to do with the way things are done and the relations among particular bodies. Rarely do they go to the point of analyzing such adverse things as bureaucracy, red tape, window dressing, percentage mania, figure padding, crudity, callousness, uncivilized behavior, and so on, and yet it is precisely these things that are the first cause of everything. What is more, the activity of people's control entities is overorganized, they mainly act on orders, initiative from the masses is needed.

What sort of combined system of social-state control would we like to see? The main thing is that it must afford a possibility for will to be vigorously asserted from below. At an enterprise this might be a body elected in the plant conference and independent of the management, but also not a substitute for it, and it would be subordinate to the workers' council. At the municipal level it must be elected in a session of the city soviet and be accountable to it, not to the staff and to the ispolkom.

In our plant we have undertaken a sharp reduction of the number of controllers, leaving in the groups only people who are really helpful. We have established a procedure in which every people's control activist and every worker can go to the people's control staff and enter his warning, suggestion, or complaint in the journal or convey them to the person on duty. What is valuable about our practice is that when the workers take part the control group can verify and take steps in any of the aspects of plant life. Later, we intend to include sociologists and psychologists as group members. So that we do not evaluate the manager solely in terms of the percentage of plan fulfillment, but according to his skill in making contact with people and organizing work.

Proven by the Progress of Restructuring—Rapid Analysis of the Opinions of Party Officials at the Rayon and City Level

“My attitude toward the practice of the present ‘ex officio’ approach to forming the elective bodies of the party,” writes A.V. Kozachko, first secretary of the Yashaltinskiy Rayon Party Committee in Kalmyk ASSR, “is negative. Their symbolic members serve no purpose. We have eliminated from the raykom bureau the first secretary of the Komsomol Rayon committee and the chairman of the rayon committee of the trade union of agro-industrial workers. Nor do I think that there is a need for the third secretary of the party raykom

to be a member of the bureau. Thought should also be given to the chief of the RAPO, who is concerned with purely economic matters...."

"One of the main causes holding back formation of an elective party body that is effective and works creatively is the present practice of subjecting its membership to rules concerning age, sex, social composition, and other formal criteria. But is it possible for an instruction to take into account the entire diversity of conditions in which party organizations operate at the local level? It should be left to the party organization itself to decide all matters related to forming the elective body." (A.V. Nesterov, first secretary of the Zayeltsovskiy Rayon Party Committee in Novosibirsk)

"As a matter of fact, up to now we have been held to rigid limits in forming the membership of elective bodies, and not just those in the party.... For example, in advance of the rayon party conference in 1985 the party obkom's organizational department set down the qualitative composition of the raykom: no less than 45 percent workers, 27 percent women, 20 percent party officials, and so on. It is clear that there can be no question of any democracy here. Sometimes it goes to absurd lengths. During the period of nomination of candidates for deputies in the republic's supreme soviet, when there were two candidates to be nominated, in addition to preparing personal files, photographs were taken of as many as 30 people for obkom officials to examine as to external appearance." (G.G. Makhauri)

The survey also exposed another point of view. Yu.A. Yermakov, first secretary of the Sovetskiy Rayon Party Committee in Kurgan, for example, takes this position: "The ex officio approach does not have the primary importance, but it cannot be entirely carried out. For instance, the chairman of the rayispolkom, the first secretary of the Komsomol raykom (provided he is a member of the CPSU), and the head of the organizational department of the party raykom must be members of the party raykom bureau."

"The membership of the elective party body must correspond to the qualitative composition of the rayon and primary party organizations, providing maximum coverage of the number of organizations, including the primary organization." (I.A. Korsakov, first secretary of the Zhdanovskiy Raykom in Leningrad)

The opinion of a majority of party officials taking part in the rapid analysis was vividly expressed in the viewpoint of V.V. Lomakin, first secretary of the Inzenskiy Raykom in Ulyanovsk Oblast: "A strange stereotype has sprung up—once you become a leader, then you have tenure in the elective body until you retire. The result of this is that many of those 'ex officio' activists turn into 'pillars of silence': they come to the plenum, they sit out the time required, and they cast their votes. They are not even concerned about speaking in their own party organizations about the problems taken up in the plenum."

An absolute majority of party leaders at the city and rayon level, as shown by the analysis, concur with the provision of the Theses on the need for changes in the procedure for forming elective party bodies, particularly emphasizing in this connection the role of competitiveness, broad glasnost in deciding on candidates, and the importance of the secret ballot in elections. The official's ideological, ethical, and businesslike attributes, his position on restructuring, the breadth of his views, and his thorough competence are referred to as the main thing in forming elective party bodies. "The main criterion," in the opinion of V.F. Osokin, first secretary of the Kineshma party gorkom in Ivanovo Oblast, "must be the attitude toward restructuring and the specific contribution to it."

The problem of the relationship between the party committee and its executive body—the bureau, the party committee and its staff—is also closely related to the procedure for forming elective party bodies. In expressing their reflections on this matter, many secretaries of gorkoms and raykoms back them up with specific cases and talk about sprouts of something new and interesting generated by the progress of restructuring. "As a matter of fact," says N.A. Shirshov, secretary of the Bessonovskiy Raykom in Penza Oblast, "in practice it often happens that the committee ends up 'at the beck and call of the bureau.' In my view, the way to break up this practice is for bureau members, including the first secretary, to have to report in plenums." "The first attempt to break up the practice of the bureau's guidance of the party committee is for the bureau to have to report on leadership of restructuring." (M. Barsukova, first secretary of the Yugo-Zapadnyy Raykom in Angarsk, Irkutsk Oblast)

"It is the role and activity of gorkom members that needs to be enhanced, not the role of the bureau that needs to be diminished. Not long ago the plenum met to hear the report of the bureau. I called a meeting of members of the gorkom in advance, passed out all the material and asked them: Tell us everything that you think. And the result was healthier than ever before. I got it good, and so did other bureau members as well." (Yu.A. Kuznetsov, first secretary of the Petrozavodsk party gorkom) "As is well-known, the bureau is altogether accountable to the committee. In practice it often works out the other way around: the committee ends up 'at the bureau's beck and call.' How is such practice to be broken up? The following steps should be taken to improve the practical activity of the bureau and to make it more accountable to the committee:

"1. Committee members should be elected in primary party organizations and nominations should be confirmed in conferences.

"2. In order to invigorate the effort of committee members specific orders should be issued to prepare a topic for the aktiv and the plenum. These orders might vary in

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their character: participation in the proceedings of commissions, an article in the newspaper, taking part in writing the draft of a decree, and so on." (A. Drachev, secretary of the Chaplyginskiy Raykom in Lipetsk Oblast)

Many of the party officials surveyed feel that for a time there has been a disproportionate growth of the role of the staff as an executive body to the detriment of the elective body. It has become established practice for staff members to attempt to take full responsibility on themselves, for all practical purposes removing raykom members from oversight of their activity and the activity of the bureau. Proposals have been advanced for drafting and adopting general provisions concerning the staff of the party body, to involve raykom members more extensively in preparing topics for plenums and bureau meetings and also in following up on execution of decisions taken. (Ponyrovskiy and Kastorenskiy party raykoms in Kursk Oblast)

Leaders of party committees have taken a particularly interested and concerned approach to problems related to the activity of instructors of party committees. "So far," in the opinion of G.G. Makhauri, "we have not been successful in making the instructor a really central figure of the party staff. The time has come to give serious thought to relieving him of his function as statistician and 'expediter.'" "The instructor of the party committee must be competent in all matters in the theory and practice of party activity, not a specialist confined to a restricted sector. He should not pass on a command, but motivate its prompt execution, foresee the social consequences of its execution and whether there will be favorable changes.... In my opinion, the very term 'instructor' has become out-of-date; it would be more correct to refer to him as the 'party organizer.'" (G.P. Dobrukova, first secretary of the Oktyabrskiy Raykom in Arkhangelsk) "In addition to the changes in the structure of the party staff that have been outlined, there should also be a change in the position title 'instructor' to one that is more popular with the people, for example, 'raykom or gorkom party organizer.'" (V.P. Solovyev, first secretary of the Chelyabinsk party gorkom) "It seems unwarranted in the meantime for enrollment of instructors in the Higher Party School to be restricted. Enrollment of this category in party schools should be expanded. And people should be taken on the staff of the party raykom or gorkom only if a recommendation has been given by an assembly of party members, above all by the person's work collective." (V.I. Sheret-yukov, first secretary of the Novousmanskiy Raykom in Voronezh Oblast)

The 27th CPSU Congress set the task of delineating the functions of the party, soviet, and economic domains. The acuteness of this problem has also been emphasized in the Theses of the CPSU Central Committee for the 19th All-Union Party Conference: "Party bodies have begun to take upon themselves more and more the actual solution of the current problems of economic and

administrative management, taking the place of soviets and other state agencies." What opinion is held on this matter by leaders of city and rayon party organizations?

N.A. Shirshov, secretary of the Bessonovskiy Raykom in Penza Oblast: "For the party raykom to duplicate matters that are in the jurisdiction of the soviet and economic domain is holding back the cause of restructuring.... At the same time...the initiative for its preservation is coming from soviet and economic bodies, which appeal to the bureau (to the first secretary) of the party raykom their own inability (reluctance) to solve the problem."

A.F. Gordiyenko, first secretary of the Ivanovo party gorkom: "Why are party bodies forced today to intervene in all matters of the daily life all the way to hauling away trash? One of the reasons is that most of the people's deputies merely represent the people in the soviets, but they are not involved in the specific organization of things in their own districts. But the main thing probably lies elsewhere—today the people's deputy has the right to represent his work collective, has the right to put a delegate query, has the right to turn up in the office of any bureaucrat when he is receiving the public and to request something for his district, but the ordinary deputy does not have the real right to put pressure for the settlement of economic, social, and other issues."

Yu.G. Vdragov, first secretary of the Ordzhonikidze party gorkom in North Osetian ASSR: "The following are necessary if the functions of party, soviet, and economic authorities are to be distinguished from each other: eliminate the following sector departments—construction, municipal utilities and services, industrial transport, administration, trade and financial agencies, science and educational institutions, and so on. The following structure of party committees would be most efficacious now: a department for party organizational work, an ideology department, and a general department."

Yu.A. Kuznetsov, first secretary of the Petrozavodsk party gorkom: "The problem is that most of the city's enterprises are connected in their operation to Moscow and are not subordinate to local soviets. So, to influence them even through party channels the gorkom has to intervene. A procedure needs to be established so that everyone located in the area of a given soviet be subordinate to local soviet authorities."

G.V. Zdrapin, first secretary of the Yukhnovskiy Raykom in Kaluga Oblast: "We are getting away from taking the place of managers in the economy. That is simpler. It is more difficult with the soviets—they, just like we, are concerned with the social sphere, so that the functions intersect. The soviets are weak when it comes to financial resources, they do not have real power, they have to make up for it with the authority of the word of the party."

A.V. Kovachko, first secretary of the Yashaltinskiy Rayon Party Committee in Kalmyk ASSR: "We feel that the raykom and rayispolkom must be accountable for the entire economic life of the rayon. A cooperative has been created in the rayon for production and technical supply of farms and has fully justified itself. We decided to organize another two cooperatives—for the production and processing of animal products and products of cropping. Beyond them is the future. But they must be managed entirely by the rayispolkom and its RAPO. Our job is to work with people, with party members."

Many party leaders emphasized that the situation is compounded by the fact that all the higher-level party, soviet, and economic authorities try to settle all their matters exclusively through party committees. This case was cited: Even at the height of the election campaign the chairman of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet and chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Chechen-Ingush ASSR turned, for example, on all matters to the Nadterechnyy Raykom rather than to the rayispolkom. What does this signify—a lack of confidence in the capability of his own executive organ? As a consequence, it is reported from the rayon, certain responsible officials of the rayispolkom do not themselves even consider it necessary to take part in the voting.

The party officials surveyed feel that the restructuring in the activity of soviet and economic authorities is being hindered by the numerous instructions, prohibitions, cumbersome reporting forms, and so on. Quite often leaders do not display initiative and a readiness to take responsibility on themselves and wait for instructions and clarifications "from above."

Party committees are engaged in a search for new forms and work procedures. Their objective is in the spirit of the Theses to impart a strong new thrust to the revolutionary process of restructuring, to clear away everything standing in its way, to work out reliable guarantees of the irreversibility of the course towards democratization and glasnost, and under the new conditions to enhance the role and responsibility of every primary party organization and every member of the party.

Delegate Urges Intelligentsia To Act
18000408 Moscow SOVETSKAYA KULTURA
in Russian 2 Jun 88 p 3

[Article by S. Borovikov, editor-in-chief of the journal VOLGA, Saratov, under the "19th All-Union Party Conference: Behind the Lines of the CPSU CC Theses. A Delegate's Position" rubric: "The Time for Actions Has Arrived"]

[Text] The CPSU CC Theses state that the political system of socialism cannot function in a full-blooded manner without the support of a wide network of public

organizations. This is indisputable. Of course, these organizations need a legal basis. However, let us soberly glance at the individual, human basis for some public formations...

On the occasion of the 70th anniversary of October a scientific-practical conference was held in our city, at which, basically, "social" scientists spoke. My God, how boring it was in the hall! The political economists who spoke assailed as one N. Shmelev's article published in NOVYY MIR. Yet I see its success not so much in the audacity of thought as in the brilliance of exposition.

The dullness of thoughts is also revealed in the terrible, dull language. For example, the scientist cheerfully begins the article about the problems of ecology with detailed exposures of the atmospheric pollution over Los Angeles and the article on drunkenness for adolescents with inevitable arguments that in our country there is no social basis for drunkenness...

What is this, a lack of education and culture? Let us visualize the "staid" person without excessive qualms ripping off data on pollution in Los Angeles from someone else's books. What intelligence is here? Is it not more appropriate to talk about conscience, that is, the lack of it?

Incidentally, concerning societies. Sitting at the presidium of the constituent conference of the Society for the Fight for Sobriety, I glanced around. All the faces were familiar! Their contribution to the fight against drunkenness, like my own, is not known, but, on the other hand, the quality unifying them—their official position—is. One must say, these, our voluntary, societies and, primarily, what commonly is called "the society for sobriety" are strange phenomena. An excellent idea, descending from top to bottom, has acquired ever more familiar bureaucratic features.

Former directors become directors of societies. And similarly to how Gogol's Petrushka imparted his own odor to every place, so they bring the spirit of the long-term bureaucratic system to public organizations conceived in a new way. In Saratov for some reason a general, of course, retired, commands even bibliophiles.

How not to ponder over the following: Where will valuable "nomenklatura" cadres, which have become accustomed to certain social and domestic conditions, be sent as a result of the reduction in the managerial apparatus that has begun? Where will there be enough places for them? In voluntary societies?

Where is the intelligentsia? Why is it humbly and uncomplainingly satisfied with the role of executors, for whom others think? Wherever you poke your nose, you will discover a representative of mental labor, who does not even have the rudiments of culture, but, on the other hand, is skilled in a fight, primarily intraspecific one.

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The convulsions of trials shake up now one and now another higher educational institution in Saratov. The whole city knew that without "giving" it is complicated to get into the medical institute. This lasted for many years. The thunder erupted, but the lightning spared the top people, striking, as usual, at those below. The same happened at the institute of law, whose workers resorted to an open robbery. Is it accidental that physicians allow their "palms to be greased" and jurists have brought our legal proceedings to a sad state if bribe takers teach them?

Who is to blame?

Let us lay aside law protecting and party bodies and their unjustified (or thought out?) liberalism. Where were colleagues? Where were professional conscience and honor? Where was intelligence? I wonder how this began. After all, not everyone unanimously decided to steal and cheat and by no means everyone engaged in this, but everyone knew, saw, and kept silent! Where were the courts of professional honor, pride, and respect for oneself, which were considered one of the privileges of the Russian intellectual and which he retained both in exile and during hard labor? Not everything should be reduced to this: "But earlier..." For us "earlier" is Lenin, Chekhov, Bunin, Rakhmaninov, Timiryazev, and Blok, but how many "Chekhovian" intellectuals falling apart under the pressure of life, like Layevskiy, how many Gorkovian "occupants of dachas" were at that time! Everything was always—bribery, drunkenness, boorishness, and all-decomposing conformism.

But why should this be in our society and who is responsible for the flourishing of social vices?

We will not compete in education with the children of the nobility and sigh with futility about the truly unique conditions for spiritual, intellectual, and physical development, under which they were placed in their childhood. But M. Gorkiy, L. Leonov, K. Fedin, and A. Tvardovskiy—who is "guilty" of their education, their vast culture, knowledge, and intelligence? The era did everything so that they would remain ignoramuses, but they became intellectuals in the highest sense of the word.

My contemporaries, 40-year old people, who have not experienced the fear of repressions, justifying their own conformism, often talk about the fear genetically inherent in us, which we have inherited from our parents. But how much can one justify oneself on the basis of the fault and trouble of past generations?

I will take upon myself the boldness to assert that new conformism, not only not inferior to previous conformism, but also stronger and more refined, arose in our country. In the 1970's we became overgrown with some especially boggy and stifling pond scum. We understood and realized everything, shifting with satisfaction, with

some sensual quirk, from an anecdote about Brezhnev to paens of praise addressed at him from tribunes. This was worse than fear, worse than betrayal. This was decadence.

Yes, we were welded together like no other generation. Yes, we were the first before the onslaught of mass Western culture and Western consciousness. Yes, we were taught: Don't get involved, don't get mixed up, don't stick out. Yes, with us the gap between words and deeds reached... But, stop! Not only with us, but with our most active participation. We are the creators and even poets of this gap, disorder, chasm. It is precisely our generation that improved and refined the cause of conformism.

Who are "we"?

We are the intelligentsia, more correctly, those that consider themselves to be. Tentatively speaking, the young intelligentsia, or the intelligentsia of the stagnant period. Really and truly, it is time for us finally to realize our social place, role, and mission. Without this as a social concept we simply will not exist.

At a meeting with representatives of the American public M. S. Gorbachev said: "I think that the ferment in people's minds always begins with the ferment in the minds of the intelligentsia. This is the yeast in any society that brings about new processes."

I do not know about others, but I was ashamed at the mention of this truth, because the "yeast starter" among our provincial intelligentsia is disappearing. No, what you won't hear around a samovar, especially the preukase samovar. But to see something, something practical, through to the end... I remember how everyone was startled by the boldness of Rasputin, Zalygin, and Belov in their fight against the plan for the inversion of northern rivers, but it did not even occur to them to wage the fight themselves. They reasoned: They can, but we are no Rasputins, we will be fired right away.

But then another, alas, also inherited, feature flourished: grumbling, cocking a snook, and exercise in wittiness. We might as well admit—to be "in the opposition" was considered valor. Now people increasingly often write about the valor of those that kept silent during the stagnant period, who wrote for the shelf, and so forth. The position of those who worked, created, and did not tell lies, but tried to reach the reader—Shukshin, Trifonov, and Abramov—seems to me much more courageous, civic, and intelligent...

The ferment of minds, the ferment of conscience—I would say, the awakening of the instinct of civic spirit—should also be a guarantee of the coming renewal and genuine flourishing of the coming, new intelligentsia.

And it has begun.

However, we must also not fail to mention something else...

We have already said many clever, true, cheerful, and bitter words about restructuring. We continue to say them and this will go on in the future. However, suddenly I have become afraid of what I have presented: We, delegates to the conference, are returning to where we were elected and we also bring with us wonderful, clever, true, cheerful, and bitter, but..., words. What then?

I think: How simpler it was for delegates to party congresses during past years, when they went to Moscow with a sense of legitimate pride and returned with a sense of deep satisfaction.

We will state openly, earlier there was a feeling: You talked and talked and this did not seem bad. Now, however, I think: You talk and so you should do! Confirm with action what you said. Eliminate finally the damned gap between words and deeds, which is fatal for us!

11439

KGB Discussion of CPSU Theses Described
*PM0107180 Moscow ARGUMENTY I FAKTY in Russian
No 27, 2-8 Jul 88 (Signed to Press 30 Jun 88) p 4*

[Unattributed report: "The USSR KGB Reports"—first two paragraphs are ARGUMENTY I FAKTY introduction]

[Text] Readers are interested in the course of discussion of the CPSU Central Committee Theses for the 19th All-Union Party Conference in the USSR state security organs.

We publish a report on this question.

The discussion of the CPSU Central Committee Theses for the 19th All-Union Party Conference proceeded in an atmosphere of high activeness in the USSR KGB party organizations. Approving this most important document of our party, the Chekists share the opinion that its contents are in line with the expectations and mood of Soviet people, and they decisively support the ideas of radical reform of the economy and the political system, of completing the creation of a socialist state based on the rule of law, of the restructuring of foreign policy.

The discussion of the Theses was closely related to the tasks facing the KGB subdivisions and party organizations. Many expressed the opinion that it is necessary to more fully define the role and position of state security organs in the period of revolutionary restructuring, democratization, and glasnost in Soviet society, and various aspects of their collaboration with other law enforcement organs.

The activity of state security organs, implemented under the guidance of, and monitoring by, the party within the framework of socialist legality, must reliably serve the revolutionary restructuring of our society and must contribute toward the development of democracy and the economic and social transformations taking place in the country.

Proposals were expressed that the conference should examine the question of the expediency of elaborating a statewide program for guaranteeing the security of our state and society in the changed historical conditions, taking into account the interlinkage of political, military, economic, scientific, technical, social, and cultural aspects. The elaboration of a Law on State Security must be speeded up.

An idea expressed during the discussion of the Theses concerned the need to enhance glasnost in the activity of state security organs, provide wider press coverage of questions concerning the restructuring of their activity, and strengthening the KGB organs' ties with the masses as a further development of the best Cheka traditions. Proposals were submitted to the effect that legislative acts affecting Soviet citizens' rights in the interest of guaranteeing state security should be made public [nosili otkrytyy kharakter].

The speakers said that the guaranteeing of state security is a matter for all the people. It is impossible to discount the militarist danger inherent in the nature of imperialism, in its striving to undermine the foundations of socialism in our country. This dictates the need to constantly display high political vigilance, to promptly detect and resolutely cut short any hostile intrigues aimed against the USSR.

Quite a few specific proposals and critical remarks were made during the discussion, aimed at restructuring and improving service work.

Increase in Party Membership Discouraged
*18000409 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 5 Jun 88
Second Edition p 2*

[Article under rubric "Replenishing the Party" by I. Linkov, professor, Department of Party Construction, Academy of Social Sciences under the CPSU Central Committee: "A Special Title"]

[Text] Recently, while engaged in probationary work on the CPSU Kaluga Oblkom, I took part in the work of the Sukhinichskiy Party Raykom, which discussed the progress being made in implementing the CPSU Central Committee decree "On Serious Shortcomings in the Work of the Taskent Oblast Party Organization with Regard to Party Enrollment and Strengthening the Party Ranks." On the eve of the 19th Party Conference, having familiarized myself with the Theses of the Central Committee, I would like to share some of my own thoughts in the pages of this newspaper.

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I read the following passage in the Theses of the CPSU Central Committee: "Wide-ranging discussions are being held in the party and in society regarding questions of the qualitative composition of the party ranks and the Communists' performance on their vanguard role. In this connection, the opinion has been stated that the practice of regulating the growth of party ranks by means of 'expanding the roster' contradicts the genuine requirements for developing the party itself and the entire society. The general opinion is that the standards demanded of those persons joining the party ought to be decisively raised so that its ranks may be replenished by truly worthy people with lofty political, moral, and businesslike qualities, convinced fighters for the party's program goals. It should be made mandatory that the opinion of the work collective be taken into account with regard to persons being enrolled in the party."

Let's consider the following question: For what purpose is a growth in the party ranks needed? It's clear for what purpose, each person would probably respond: in order to strengthen the party's influence. At least, that was the answer I received from everybody to whom I put the question. Party officials as well as rank-and-file Communists. It would seem that there could be objection to this, right? It's really so obvious! However, if on the threshold of the 19th Party Conference we look at the matter not traditionally, but rather from the viewpoint of our perestroika period, from the viewpoint of vital truth and a search for genuinely effective ways to increase the party's influence, then it turns out to be not so unequivocal after all.

Furthermore, I am convinced that it is precisely this keying on quantitative growth as the principal means of strengthening the party's influence which lies at the root of the decline in the authority attached to the title of Communist in many party organizations. V.I. Lenin noted that an organization's strength is not determined by the number of its members but rather by its influence on the masses. He considered that "...we can even venture to state the following seeming paradox: the number of an organization's members should not exceed a certain set minimum boldso that its influence on the masses may be widespread and steady!" ("Polnoye sobranie sochineniy" [Complete Collected Works], Vol 22, p 210) And, although this was stated for other historical conditions, within the situation that has now evolved with the growth of party ranks, this Leninist idea has not only not lost its methodological value, but also, as presented, has assumed a direct, practical importance.

Let's recall that, beginning in 1965 all the CPSU Central Committee's decrees on the admittance of young Communists into the party and their training (there were four such decrees) noted the excessive enthusiasm of many party organizations for the numerical growth of the party ranks to the detriment of quality. Over the past quarter-century, however, this situation not only has not changed

but has become even worse. During these years the number of party members grew by more than 8 million persons, but the party's influence declined in a number of sections.

At present many party organizations are keying solely on quantitative growth.

One of the reasons for the vital tenacity of such an approach, which has been condemned on more than one occasion by the CPSU Central Committee, is to be seen, above all, in the weak theoretical understanding of the problem of forming party ranks under present-day conditions. Here too scholars owe something to party organizations. Let me try to show this, based on only one example.

The impelling motive to increase the composition of party ranks numerically in all historical periods, including present-day conditions as well, has been and remains the requisite demand for new party manpower. This demand is conditioned by the need to solve the problems confronting the party and its organizations. It is precisely this demand which also dictates how much manpower must be enrolled and which problems it must solve. But what if there is no demand for new party manpower? If the manpower is sufficient, do we need to admit new members? This is the primary factor which is not being taken as a point of departure when forming party ranks. In the majority of cases top priority is given to the following example of psychologically stereotyped thinking: the more admitted, the better!

Under contemporary conditions and at the present stage of the Soviet society's level of development, as a result of the numerical growth of the working class and the intelligentsia, along with the increase in their awareness and devotion to the cause of communism, the ratio between the demand for new party manpower and the possibilities for satisfying it has changed in such a way that the potentials of the party's social base exceed by far the requirement for new party manpower. This is a very great gain for us. Moreover, we must take into consideration the fact that, as the party grew numerically, its genuine need for new manpower became less year after year. Unfortunately, this has not yet been fully taken into account in the theory of party construction or in the practical work of party organizations. As a result, a significant portion of Communists and party officials have not yet overcome the objectively outmoded, stereotyped thought: the more admitted, the better!

A profound understanding of the radical changes in the ratio between the demand for new party manpower and the possibilities for satisfying it at the present-day stage of party construction allows us, in my opinion, to feel our way toward new approaches, to raise perestroika in this field to the level of contemporary problems. Let's single out the main ones below:

First, from the changed ratio between the possibilities of the social base for choosing new manpower for the party

and the demand for them, it follows that a situation has now evolved wherein the organizations cannot accept into their ranks all those persons desiring to enroll. This could lead to extremely undesirable consequences and could facilitate intensifying the process whereby the party would become dissolved in the masses; such an eventuality is inadmissible. On the other hand, the excess of possibilities over the demand now allows the party organizations to admit only the most worthy persons into their ranks from among several worthy persons, i.e., truly the best of the best. And this, in turn, means that objectively all the conditions exist for raising the individual selection to such a high level which it could never occupy previously, and to completely exclude acceptance into the party of poorly prepared persons, not to mention unworthy persons who are alien to its ideology and morality. But, as party statistics attest, we are still far from attaining this level. During the years 1981-1985 more than 101,000 persons failed to pass through their candidates' probationary period. And a certain portion of party members were expelled from the CPSU during the first two or three years of membership due to various types of faults incommensurate with the title of Communist.

Second, the basic criterion for strengthening this or that party organization now must become not the quantity of members, but the level of the party's influence both in the work collective as a whole, as well as in each of its principal sections. This would allow us, without abandoning the regulation of the party ranks' growth and social composition, to place it on a different footing. Nowadays, according to all the strictly regulated indicators, party organizations have achieved just about the highest levels throughout the party's entire history—with regard to number, percentage of women, and Komsomol members being accepted; but it is still difficult to observe a degree of strengthening the party's influence. And so, this path is not the main route. It seems that all the conditions now exist both for abandoning the "arbitrary" regulation (essentially subjectively established expanded rosters) under which the following paradoxical situation was created: applications are not accepted from persons desiring to join the party, but a questionnaire is handed out to a person who, as a rule, has already been fully determined. And the question of his acceptance is decided by the party organization. This sharply violates the rights of citizens (see Sec. 1, CPSU Charter) as well as members of the party organization.

There may be several practical variants here. One of them may be seen in the following procedure as an example: a representative commission—let's call it a certification commission—makes a detailed analysis (let's say, once a year or during the period under review) of a party organization's composition, the placement of Communists, their influence as a whole and of each individual, and, based on this, provides recommendations with regard to the most effective utilization of

party manpower, as well as regarding the quantitative and qualitative strengthening of the party organization as a whole and each of its activity sections. In accordance with this, a party organization, after receiving applications from all persons desiring to join the party, openly and publicly discusses these applications and selects from among the comrades those who in this particular activity section fully satisfy the party organization's requisite need for new manpower and who will provide it with the necessary level of party influence.

People may say: all this is too complicated. Let me note that such a variant is not merely the fruit of theoretical meditations. The practical experience of certain raykoms and gorkoms has already come to resemble this closely. For example, in the CPSU Kirov Gorkom, Kaluga Oblast, the organizational section, together with the secretary of each party organization and the chairman of the party commission, analyzes the composition and placement of the Communists and, proceeding from this, elaborates a policy for regulating each party organization for a year.

Third, in conducting work on regulating matters, we must not lose sight of the fact that expansion and strengthening of the party's social base has occurred by means of the working class's quantitative and qualitative growth. Hence also the basic trend of regulatory action has been and remains securing the working class' leading place in the party's social composition.

And last, meetings and conversations with Communists have shown that a number of party members who joined the CPSU during the period of stagnation and its concomitant low level of exacting standards applied by party organizations to those seeking to join have come to the conclusion that they are incapable of sustaining the new level of demands required of Communists under the conditions of perestroika. Since they are honorable though relatively inactive persons, they have come to feel themselves burdened by their positions. It would be in the interests of strengthening the party organizations, as well as in the interests of these Communists, to allow them to voluntarily resign from the party. This same procedure could likewise be extended to those persons who are unable to perform a party member's duties because of health or age reasons.

As perestroika intensifies, it becomes increasingly clearer to each of us that we will improve the economy and solve social problems if we are able to raise the title of Communist and the level of the party's influence in work collectives. One of the deciding trends of this process is strengthening the party ranks. But in the new understanding of this word which has been brought to life by perestroika.

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Justice Official Calls for Changes in Legal Education System

18000406 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 6 Jun 88
(2d edition) p 3

[Interview with M.P. Vyshinskiy, USSR deputy minister of justice, by G. Ovcharenko, PRAVDA correspondent: "According to the Code and Conscience"; date and place not given]

[Text] The law, which in our time is being updated, is now figuring ever more actively not only as a stabilizer of the existing social relations, but also in its original and inherent role of one of the motive forces of progress, development, and a strengthening of democracy on the basis of sound legality. As stated in the Theses of the CPSU Central Committee and 19th All-Union Party Conference, the process of step-by-step democratization of Soviet society must complete the creation of the socialist state as a system of laws. There is a great deal of work to be done here—a major legal reform has to be carried out. But are our legal experts today ready for that job?

Our correspondent interviewed on this point M.P. Vyshinskiy, USSR deputy minister of justice.

[Question] In the country today there are 218,000 lawyers with higher education and 51 with secondary legal education. Is this too many or too few?

[Answer] It depends on what you compare it to. If you compare it to the past, then we have tenfold more lawyers now than there were in 1926. If you make the comparison to the needs for a high level of juridical performance, then there must be at least twice as many. For example, by comparison with prerevolutionary Russia there has been practically no change in the number of lawyers relative to population. On the whole, we have one-third as many lawyers relative to population as in the United States and one-fourth as many as in West Germany and England. Moreover, the share of lawyers in the country has been steadily dropping in recent years relative to other specialists and is now a third less than what it was before the war.

[Question] Please tell us in what direction the Ministry of Justice is looking.

[Answer] The ministry is only one of the "consumers" of legal personnel. Unfortunately, it is not endowed with the legal powers to influence the planning of the training of lawyers. So that it would be better to put your question to USSR Gosplan and the State Committee for Public Education. What is more, the present mechanism for determining the need of sectors and branches of the economy and government administrative agencies for lawyers is extremely imperfect, and simply unsuitable, to put it mildly. We have not even organized a full-fledged statistical system of recordkeeping available for use on the quantitative and qualitative composition of lawyers.

In spite of many years of discussion, the sectors of the economy and government administrative agencies (except for law enforcement departments) do not have a list of positions to be filled by lawyers. The present methods of calculating the need for lawyers are highly hypothetical.

[Question] Perhaps the need that is to be determined is also very hypothetical?

[Answer] Absolutely. Take, for example, the current 5-year planning period. The need for lawyers defined by the departments and councils of ministers of the union republics is 12,700, that is, 6,000 fewer than are being trained. We are being reproached: You need to expand the network of educational institutions, yet there is a surplus of lawyers. But this is a paper surplus. Of the 250,000 enterprises and organizations which now are at least as much in need of legal protection as the individual, only 1 out of every 3 has a legal adviser, and at the same time about 3,000 positions are vacant because lawyers are not available. Of the total number of lawyers employed on kolkhozes, sovkhozes, and other economic organizations in rural rayons, 30 percent do not have legal training. In only 1 out of 4 of the 6,000 ispolkoms of rayon and city soviets is there a legal adviser. Among the secretaries of these ispolkoms they number only 760 persons, or 1.5 percent, and lawyers are in the same proportion in the almost 85,000 staff positions of ispolkoms which are supposed to be filled by lawyers.

Nevertheless, the central ministries and departments and the councils of ministers of union republics have set the requirement for lawyers at only 2,350 per year over the period up to 1995. And this when natural attrition alone (death, retirement, and the like) of those positions leaves 2.5-3 percent of those positions vacant every year; that is, five times as many as the requested number of young specialists!

[Question] Which means that there is a need to restructure the education and training of lawyers and to inculcate a new type of thinking in them.

[Answer] Beyond question! Today we need not only new thinking, but an altogether different and new type of lawyer, one who is able to work in the full sense in a socialist state ruled by law, able to apply under the conditions of democracy and glasnost the new law, whose guiding principle in regulation of social relations is not to prohibit and restrict, but to allow, someone who is morally fit to develop and make effective use of the ethical and humanistic potential of the law.

The cult of Stalin's personality, the thesis he proclaimed to the effect that the class struggle was exacerbated as socialism became consolidated in our country, which right up until the fifties the bacchanalia of large-scale

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repression, combined with a flagrantly neglectful attitude toward the law and individual rights, the introduction of the defective views of my namesake A. Vyshinsky into the teaching of law, who considered the main content of statehood and legality to be restriction and prohibition, suppression and punishment, when at the same time antihuman methods of medieval justice were most extensively used to achieve those goals, all of this distorted the pattern of legal education to the extreme.

It has to be noted that so far there has been no radical change of direction in the very system and character of legal education. Even now the conceptual aspect that determines its quality is still the criminalistic conduct of the law and law enforcement that took shape in the thirties.

[Question] The basis still presumably exists for reproduction of the old way of thinking?

[Answer] Unfortunately. That is why changing the social-legal orientation of legal education is a very important matter. Historically there have been three main spheres of jurisprudence in which the efforts of the lawyer were applied: business law, constitutional law, and trial law. It is on that basis that training in the three specialties became established. But in fact the specialization is no more than a crepe-paper embellishment of the curriculum (only 492 hours out of the 4,500 hours of class time are devoted to study of the special disciplines), and up to now the idea of a strong foundation is still replaced by the training of a so-called broad-spectrum lawyer, which is manifested in the compulsory study of an ever increasing number of disciplines. This would seem to result in breadth, but breadth is never the equal of depth.

Things have been particularly unfortunate with the fundamental and specialized training of lawyers preparing to work in the sectors of the economy. Their training in economic law has long been unjustifiably scanty.

Today's lawyer, wherever and in whatever capacity he might work, must not only know legal norms and be able to deal with them, but he must also master the essence of the matter that has to do with management of the economy and social welfare, he must be well-informed outside the realm of law and must have talent outside the legal area that make it possible for him to apply the norm of the law authentically, legally, and fairly, but also to carry most fully into the legal sphere those thrusts which are coming to it from the economy, from politics, from culture, from the entire life of society.

[Question] There is no doubt that fundamental and specialized knowledge of law is a most important condition for the lawyer's performance. But since ancient times jurisprudence has been considered not so much a professional as a moral discipline. Today, by all appearances, many lawyers forget about that.

[Answer] I am compelled to agree with you. It is a fact, after all, that today, just as in past years, the curriculum of law schools does not include, for example, legal ethics as a general legal discipline. It is an elective that is not required. Which is to imply and is as much as to say to the future lawyer that he is not required to have a conscience: have a conscience if you like, but if not, then don't!

Yet it is conscience that is the life-giving principle and moral basis of the ethics of the practicing lawyer. Hegel called it "something sacred that it would be a sacrilege to infringe upon," precisely because it is able "to know within itself and from itself what is right and duty and what is not." And now we have infringed upon it. As a consequence, the elementary norms of ethical behavior, which conscience gathers to itself, have ended up displaced somewhere to the periphery of professional consciousness. Which accounts for the largely impermissible methods of investigation, the accuser's transferring his duty to prove guilt to the accused himself, which accounts for the flattering obsequiousness of some lawyers before the powers that be, and the display of indifference toward human destinies.

In our time, everyone who intends to become a lawyer must be educated in a spirit of ethical purity before the law and the people. We should not only reestablish legal ethics as a primary academic discipline in legal education, but also wholeheartedly guarantee with the methods of study compatibility between law and ethics as interconnected and interdependent principles of lawful behavior. The lawyer is not just a man with a code, the lawyer is a man with a conscience as well. And conscience—as the core of the practicing lawyer's ethics—must become a most important and most sacred part of the training given in the VUZ, which should be based on the philosophy of the future lawyer's reverence for the ethical nature of the law and the dignity, honor, rights, and freedoms of the workingman.

[Question] And to what extent must restructuring concern the issues of management of legal education and the forms of study of lawyers?

[Answer] You might have put an easier question. At a time when throughout the world and in the USSR most (in our country more than 60 percent) specialists are trained by attending school fulltime, a majority of lawyers on the other hand are trained on the job. Last year, for example, 67 percent (73 percent in RSFSR) of all lawyers were trained either through correspondence courses or attending school at night. There is only one sphere that compares in this respect to jurisprudence—retail trade, for which about 60 percent of the specialists are now training while still working. I cannot give any reasonable explanation for this. But I can say one thing: with respect to the quality of training the training of lawyers by correspondence and through night school has for a long time been based on nothing other than the flow-line method of graduating very mediocre lawyers

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who have been given higher education. There are few to dispute this assessment either in Gosplan or in the State Committee for Public Education, and still nothing in reality has changed for more than 30 years now.

There are also quite a few incongruities in the management of VUZ's. For example, in recent years the network of law schools in universities has grown unrestrainedly. Today there are more than 40 of them. Their number is especially out of proportion in the Northern Caucasus and unjustifiably small in Siberia and the Far East.

[Question] But why does the USSR Ministry of Justice not take upon itself the function of defining the strategy both for shaping the network of VUZ's and also determining the need for lawyers and shaping the professional and legal content of what they are taught?

[Answer] I for one am in favor of that. The legal tekhnikums have for all practical purposes become a "no-man's-land" today. The network of them, in spite of the government decree and the large need for lawyers with secondary specialized education, has been developing extremely slowly. Their transfer to jurisdiction of the USSR Ministry of Justice would also seem to be timely.

[Question] It seems that the restructuring of legal education has not really begun as yet.

[Answer] That is in fact the trouble. But legal life is at the same time going forward, legislation is being actively updated, as are the very perception and understanding of the law, and more and more its role in revolutionary transformation is being advanced to the foreground. But the delay with restructuring of the training of lawyers could have an adverse effect on that process and weaken it. After all, in jurisprudence as in art, much depends on the material, but everything depends on the craftsman who shapes it.

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Justice Officials, Jurists Discuss Concept of Socialist Legal State

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[Discussion of CPSU Central Committee Theses by M.P. Vyshinskiy, USSR deputy minister of justice; I.I. Karpets, director of the All-Union Scientific Research Institute on Problems of Strengthening Law and Order and doctor of juridical sciences; O.P. Temushkin, doctor of juridical sciences and department chief of the USSR Supreme Court; V.F. Yakovlev, doctor of juridical sciences and director of the All-Union Scientific Research Institute of Soviet Legislation; A.M. Yakovlev, doctor of juridical sciences, professor and section chief of the Institute of State and Law of the USSR Academy of Sciences; LITERATURNAYA GAZETA legal correspondents A. Borin, A. Vaksberg, L. Grafova, I. Gamayunov, V. Golovanov, I. Minayev, Yu. Shchekochikhin and Yu. Poroykov, LITERATURNAYA GAZETA assistant editor-in-chief: "What Kind of a Legal State Should There Be?"]

[Text] What are the characteristic traits of a socialist legal state? What is standing in the way of creating it?

This was reflected upon in a LITERATURNAYA GAZETA round-table discussion of CPSU Central Committee Theses. Participating in the discussion were M.P. Vyshinskiy, USSR deputy minister of justice; I.I. Karpets, director of the All-Union Scientific Research Institute on Problems of Strengthening Law and Order and doctor of juridical sciences; O.P. Temushkin, doctor of juridical sciences and department chief of the USSR Supreme Court; V.F. Yakovlev, doctor of juridical sciences and director of the All-Union Scientific Research Institute of Soviet Legislation; A.M. Yakovlev, doctor of juridical sciences, professor and section chief of the Institute of State and Law of the USSR Academy of Sciences; and LITERATURNAYA GAZETA legal correspondents A. Borin, A. Vaksberg, L. Grafova, I. Gamayunov, V. Golovanov, I. Minayev, and Yu. Shchekochikhin. Yu. Poroykov, LITERATURNAYA GAZETA assistant editor-in-chief, led the meeting.

Complete or Begin?

[Yu. Poroykov] As is stated in the Theses, we are experiencing a fundamentally new ideological and political situation. To be sure, each of us, to the extent of our powers, is creating it. Our conversation today is also an of creativity (I hope it will be). You see, the revolution of consciousness is not just the destruction of outdated stereotypes. It is the forming of new approaches, new thinking. It is not just the supplanting of dogmatic ideas on socialism and the rejecting of authoritative-command methods of government, but also the development of self-government by the people and completion of creating a socialist legal state... But here a question is inevitable: What kind of a state do we already have? A semi-legal state? Or is it a legal state which has not been completed? Or is it a non-legal or perhaps anti-legal state?

[A. Yakovlev] It seems to me, every reader is pondering the Theses. Section 8 states: "...to complete creation of a socialist legal state..." But what kind is it? I imagined my relatives sitting at the family table and asking me, a jurist, about this. How to answer clearly and simply? Perhaps in this way: The difference between a legal and non-legal state is that a non-legal state regulates the law, commands the law. But in a legal state, state bodies are subordinate to the law. That is, law is a self-restraint of state power... However, my namesake Veniamin Fedorovich, an expert on this matter, obviously will state this more precisely...

[V. Yakovlev] I agree with what Aleksandr Maksimovich said. The question is precisely this: What is above what? Is the state above the law, or is the law above the state? Firstly, despite the fact that law is the result of the state and has state institutions as its sources, the state nevertheless actually becomes legal only when the law is placed above it and when all elements of the state system work on the basis of laws and in strict accord with them. Secondly, note that in the Theses there is an organic link between Section 8, devoted to questions of a legal state,

and Section 4, devoted to political system reform. That is because political system reform is one of the decisive aspects of establishing a legal state... I would single out three traits which characterize a legal state: absolute supremacy of law; a developed system of rights and freedoms of citizens; and a mechanism for protecting these rights.

[A. Yakovlev] I would like to add that the state and society are not one and the same. The state is merely the servant of society. And society, i.e., the people, must have legal "channels" for expressing their will, formulated in laws.

[M. Vyshinskiy] Advancing the these on a legal state is a festive occasion for me. Finally, that which should have been said long ago has been said. Here is why. Until recently, the law was merely an instrument of coercion in the hands of the state. Stalin "showed" us what can be done in the country by using such an instrument. Our social consciousness became distorted because of this. The law was either totally ignored or was narrowly perceived as a means of fighting crime, although law is primarily a protection of the rights and freedoms of citizens. There is good reason that the term "law-enforcement bodies" exists.

[I. Karpets] Well, you see, this is jargon.

[M. Vyshinskiy] Today it is no longer jargon... In this regard, it is about an authoritarian state. It is often perceived as the benefactor granting common people certain rights and freedoms. It is time to overthrow the state from the pedestal of a benefactor. Otherwise, it turns out that the state will want to give a person rights, or not give them.

[Yu. Poroykov] We have a formula set in blood since the Stalin years: We thank the party and the government for their fatherly concern. We did not even think about how absurd this formula is in its essence.

[I. Gamayunov] I once heard a psychologist define our society as a "father-society;" that is, a society of a father crowning the peak of the administrative pyramid. Hence the citizens' infantilism, the inability to enjoy their rights, and naive believe that the "Supreme Father" (or Barin) will settle any conflict.

[A. Yakovlev] The time has come to grow up.

[I. Karpets] We need to return law to its primordial role and change the image of law in the consciousness of the masses. This is not easy. Command methods of governing have hyperbolized the coercive role of law. Hence its one-sided understanding. In the economy, for example, law has substituted itself for economic levers, which is nothing short of sanctions! Law acquired a punitive nature, particularly in the 1930's, despite the fact that the 1936 Constitution contained progressive legal principles.

[A. Yakovlev] In essence, in the 1930's our law became terrorist.

[A. Vaksberg] I think that the person who inserted the verb "to complete" in the Theses on Creating a Socialist Legal State was cunning, to put it mildly. What completion can he be talking about when our state has not been a legal state, in the true sense of the word, a single day in the entire history of its existence. Yes, in the revolution situation it was necessary to destroy the old legal system in order to create a new one. But having held on to this creation, we gave rise a nihilistic attitude toward law in general. Now we are faced with the task of forming consciousness of the law, but it cannot occur, as they say, overnight... Seemingly, the Theses need a different formulation: not to complete, but to create a legal state. Otherwise, I am afraid, under our existing practice, a year later we will begin enthusiastically reporting that a legal state has already been built.

Guarantees of Freedom

[O. Temushkin] Yes, of course, we will be realists. We need to begin creating a legal state, not complete it... The question inevitably arises as to what the job of each state body should be. I am talking about the idea of division of power, which can and must be filled with socialist content. I would like to call upon Engels to back me up. He said that the division of power is the practical division of labor applied to the state mechanism. In other words, there must be a state authority which issues laws and an executive authority which strictly executes out these laws.

[A. Borin] The Theses contain one very important provision, fundamentally new to us: "...workers of bodies of government accountable to the Soviet cannot simultaneously be its deputies." This rule also applies to members of the union government. Here it is, the idea of division of power, in action. But how then are we to understand the stipulation "with rare exception?" After all, is the idea of division of power in effect or not?

[O. Temushkin] A mechanism must also be created to monitor the creation of sub-legal acts so they conform to the law. That is, constitutional oversight is needed.

[I. Gamayunov] An example of the lack of such oversight is the regulations of the State Committee for Civil Construction and Architecture (Gosgrazhdanstroy) (true, now already noted) on the size of greenhouses, which has allowed local authorities of the southern regions to wage a preposterous campaign of barbarous destruction of these greenhouses for a long time. The constitutional right to work has ended up crushed by this sub-legal (more precisely, illegal) act.

[O. Temushkin] There is a mass of these illegal-sub-legal acts. They are promulgated by anyone who feels like it.

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[A. Yakovlev] You see, the departments have access to the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet, but the people are unable to make themselves heard there.

[O. Temushkin] But there is no mechanism which could check to see whether or not the current standard act conforms to the idea set forth in the law! As a result (here is a quite recent paradox), an Ukase of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, prepared by the Ministry of Finance, is issued on taxation of cooperatives. The ukase actually stifles the cooperative movement. And it came out at a time when the law on cooperatives itself was in draft... We could cite many examples in which enterprising managers end up being convicted of violating ridiculous regulations!

[Yu. Poroykov] But why was it possible to convict a person based on some regulations?

[I. Minayev] The Criminal Code has Article 170 on abuse of office. It is precisely under this article that all sorts of violations of numerous regulations qualify as criminal offenses.

[V. Yakovlev] The problem is that in the theory of law, until now the law has been interpreted very broadly, as a sum total of acts, regardless of whether or not these are Supreme Soviet acts or Ministry of Finance regulations. Such an understanding of the law, naturally, gave rise to the command-administrative methods of government. As soon as the economic independence of farmers was undercut by collectivization in the 1930's and all enterprises in industry ended up as state enterprises, centralized methods of management were developed. And the law, in essence, ceased being the means of regulating social relations. Management acts became the main regulator. They gradually supplanted and replaced the law. In order to have sufficient force, management acts assumed the appearance of law. In essence, these were acts of individual management, only they were given the form of law. This led to tremendous consequences. Economic relations ceased being economic, that is, relations between producer and consumer. The became vertical in nature, like relations between an enterprise and the higher body allocating funds. The enterprise has become completely dependent upon the assessment which comes from above. The producer ceased working for the consumer. He worked "for an index" established from above.

[I. Gamayunov] I have a question for Oleg Petrovich who mentioned constitutional oversight... How do you picture a mechanism which sorts out worthless anti-constitutional regulations which infringe upon civil rights?

[O. Temushkin] We don't have to invent the bicycle. Most countries, including socialist, have a system of constitutional courts. It seems to me that it would be completely correct if the USSR Supreme Court were given the function of constitutional oversight... When

examining a specific case, the people's court, for example, establishes that a person that a person is convicted on the basis of a regulation, or order, or departmental act, which are anti-constitutional. This court informs the Supreme Court, which in its role of oversight corrects the case and recognizes this standard act as being at variance with the law. It also gives instructions to disregard it. At the same time, it makes the appropriate recommendation to either the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, or to some ministry that promulgated it, and recommends it be rescinded. I think that this is also how the question can be posed. For example, a decision of the Council of Ministers of a republic or a decision of the USSR Council of Ministers is promulgated, but the All-Union Central Trade Union Council, the Procurator-General of the USSR and the Ministry of Justice have doubts regarding this decision. They, or some one of them, raise the question before a plenary meeting of the USSR Supreme Court, which, after examining the claims, recommends to the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet that the questionable standard act be rescinded. Or, if someone has been damaged already by this act, it recommends not only that it be rescinded, but also that material losses be indemnified.

[Yu. Poroykov] Not long ago, PRAVDA told the story of one cooperative in Barnaul. There, in order to undermine the cooperative's economy, the local soviet forced illegally it to pay 10,000 rubles. The cooperative turned to the court, which, although it understood the cooperative was right, declined to examine the case. The article contains an assumption that the oblispolkom would rescind the local soviet's decision. But what if, out of arrogance, it does not rescind it? A constitutional court is needed here for sure.

How to Rescind a "Telephonic Law"

[I. Karpets] I do not reject the idea of a constitutional court, but as a man striving to walk on the earth and not be up in the clouds, I would ask: Are we using all that we have? Let us read the Theses carefully again. It is stated that it is namely the procurator's office that is to ensure oversight of legality. You would tell me that investigation is also concentrated in the hands of the procurator's office and that it is therefore difficult to oversee itself... But this is merely one side, a side which in the near future may fall away—when the investigation leaves the procurator's office... Let us look more broadly at the entire spectrum of safeguarding rights. Here, for example, the procurator participates in meetings of the ispolkom. That means he can stop an illegal action.

[A. Borin] All this is interesting, and important, but here is what I think... Suppose we create a constitutional court and charge it with constitutional oversight, but will all this work for us? After all, there are telephones everywhere. Picture a party functionary calling and insisting that a decision, totally wrong under the law, be considered "as an exception." Someone, perhaps, will not yield to "party" pressure, but someone will. There are those

among judges, and among procurators also, who will deviate, because they know later they may end up "on the carpet" in the party raykom or obkom. Of course, the pretext would be something else no directly related to the telephonic request. But it is still clear, and that is why... Yes, of course, it was stated correctly that the law must be above the state, and not the state above the law. But the question is: Is our law above the party? Or is the party still above the law? Not in declarations, but in reality, in practice.

[Yu. Shchekochikhin] We are now free to talk about everything, but I sometimes think: What will happen if this democratization process suddenly slows down? The first thing that will happen is that some major party functionary dreaming about party dictatorship, citing some outdated sub-legal act, will first of all try to stifle the openness that is interfering with him and turn into fiction everything we have started to create a legal state.

[A. Yakovlev] Under our conditions, democratization of the party itself is the first and most necessary condition of creating a legal state. It is not for nothing that questions of democratization of party life resound in the Theses. Intraparty pluralism and debate are now understood as a form of existence of the party. If, in democratizing itself, the party reaches the position in which no leader possessing any merit is able to usurp power, this kind of democratic order will prevent the emergence of a figure who we already know fairly well... In addition, legal regulation of the party's place in government is also necessary.

[Yu. Poroykov] But what about the theoretical formulation that the party is the nucleus of the political system of the Soviet society? How would you assess it from a legal standpoint?

[A. Yakovlev] I am used to more concrete terms. Such terms as "driving belts" and "nucleus," for example, may be suitable in political vocabulary, but if you were to ask me, as a jurist, what the word "nucleus" means, I would not be able to answer. I find it difficult to give an adequate characterization of this concept.

[O. Temushkin] I also believe that "nucleus" is not something metaphysical. It seems to me that in the system of a legal state, again returning to the idea of division of power, the party's place as a guiding force must be quite clearly defined legally. In discussions which are now taking place about this, in my opinion, it is correctly said that the party must not replace soviets and departments, but should deal with personnel and ideological matters and develop the program of development of our state.

[A. Yakovlev] What does "personnel matters" mean? Create a so-called nomenclatura? Or organize cadre elections or develop a democratic mechanism of promoting leaders? We already see that there are elections. The party plays an active role in these elections. A legal

mechanism is already being developed which, first of all, does not come down to a semi-mysterious concept of "nomenclatura." Secondly, it is introducing more or less specific legal standards into that same guiding role of the party. I think that by taking this path we will be able to preserve those guarantees which are necessary for a legal state from the standpoint of securing its political leadership.

[Yu. Poroykov] Do you jurists believe it is necessary to change the formulation—the party is the guiding and directing force—in order to preclude the possibility of an inaccurate and too broad an interpretation?

[M. Vyshinskiy] I do not think it is necessary. It is only necessary always to specify that the guiding and directing force operates within the limits of the law through political methods and is not the subject of state power.

[A. Vaksberg] I think that restructuring of the political system, which is talked about in the Theses, is not simply words. Behind this, it seems to me, is a completely different understanding of the role of the party, particularly in making laws and in applying the law. If it is maintained that party bodies must also be subordinate to the laws, I would pose the following question. How are we to develop such a control mechanism so that all party documents and all party decisions do not contradict the law? How, for example, today does the paragraph of the Party Rules work, which is at variance with the law, which in essence establishes the presumption of guilt of a party member? How do you explain this? The constitution has established that only a court can pronounce a person guilty. But the Party Rules propose, before the court, expelling a communist from the party for misdemeanor committed which involve criminal liability... That means, for non-party people there still will hypothetically be a presumption of innocence, but for a party member a presumption of guilt. He appears in court already having been expelled from the party "in connection with the current case." And another thing. Since the party can act only on the basis of the law, any decision by it that is not based on law must be rescinded as being illegal. Who will do this? I think that only a court possessing true independence will do it.

Surprises of Lawmaking

[M. Vyshinskiy] The idea of a legal state will become a reality under one important condition—creation of a really legal basis of state and social life. This problem is noted in the Theses; they state the need to abolish old laws and introduce new ones. This is an enormous undertaking! If we consult the thick volume of the code of laws, I am afraid that we will count at total of only some 25 authentic laws. The rest are legal improvisation which served as a cover for methods of administrative pressure.

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[I. Karpets] How many laws should there be altogether? If the state is legal, it cannot regulate a person's every step. We are regulated to the limit and are tired of turning on command. The ancient Roman historian Tacitus maintained that a multitude of laws is typical of a corrupted state. I think that our state should have a minimum of laws, but laws which cannot be interpreted haphazardly. And, of course, the law must be an effective law.

[L. Grafova] Recently, I became interested in how many cases were instituted under the new Article 139 of the Criminal Code on punishment for suppression of criticism. I found out that there were 13 for the year. And only one ended with a sentence for the suppressor. Such a needed article, particularly now during the sharply disputed moment of perestroika, is not effective!

[A. Yakovlev] I recall another such law—about appeal of actions by officials. It not only was not effective, but was dead from the start! The creators of this law destroyed it with the following provision: one can only appeal a decision which is made by an official individually. But if it is made collectively, it cannot be appealed. We know that the majority of unjust decisions are made collectively. But if it happens that an individual decision is appealed, our law-abiding citizen, who has become accustomed to haunting the threshold, first goes to the higher leadership; there, upstairs, the individual decision is approved by a commission and he is refused. The citizen runs to the court and is told: My dear man, we cannot accept your case for consideration—the decision has become a collective one. You see, that is how adroitly it is done!

[A. Borin] But just who did it? You see, the draft law is prepared by quite competent jurists—scholars and practitioners. It is discussed thoroughly and at length and goes through a great number of instances. At the last stage it falls into the hands of an official who inserts a provision which dooms the law to inaction.

[V. Yakovlev] We need a law on law, that is, major standard acts which would regulate the very procedure of making laws...to avoid mistakes and incompetent interference... The Theses cite one of the chief, in my view, principles on which new laws must be based: Everything not prohibited by law is authorized. This is a most important principle which we most often still do not follow. In short, we still have problems with the legal standards and with awareness of the law; therefore, we should not count on rapid changes. But it is important that we have a program and that the processes take place.

[Yu. Poroykov] ...If you go by how the draft Law on Cooperatives was discussed at the last session, these processes are already taking place.

[V. Yakovlev] ...Yes, indeed. It turns out that we already have some mechanism, it just needs to be "started." It was worthwhile involving the deputies in the discussion

of the law in the right way, and a miracle occurred: there was no formalism, everyone was interested, and there was a brainstorming of the problem. It turned out to be a genuine discussion. This was incredibly interesting, I would say even beautiful. Particularly when kolkhoz representatives drove the minister of finance into a corner with their arguments. They also talked with him with the dignity of deputies. This was a true parliament!

[A. Vaksberg] I would like to add something. We know that we have signed a number of international conventions, but they are not reflected in our national legislation. Apparently, in setting up the lawmaking mechanism, we must formulate a key provision on the priority of international laws over national laws.

[I. Karpets] The Theses quite justly talk about the repeal of outdated laws. Unfortunately, we have laws that are not simply outdated, but are anti-constitutional! For example, passport legislation. The ban on visas in major cities is a violation of citizens' rights.

[L. Grafova] Remember what an uproar was caused by the appearance of the Law on Unearned Income causes several years ago? It seems to me that lawmaking must also predict such "side effects." Otherwise, hastily passed laws will damage public morality.

Protection Invites Protection

[A. Borin] The Theses contain what, in my opinion, are remarkable lines: "...not only are citizens answerable to the state, but the state is also answerable to the citizens." Based on this tenet, I think that the pivotal task of legal reform is to protect the rights of citizens. This includes protection not only in the criminal-judicial sphere, but also in the area of social, economic and civil rights and freedoms. Therefore, in creating a legal state, we must create a mechanism for protecting these rights.

[V. Golovanov] Recently I witnessed how a group of ecologists (our version of the "Greens") came to Moscow to ask Chairman Saykin to abolish as illegal so-called "interim rules" on marches and demonstrations in Moscow. These rules contain this requirement: A demonstration must not only be registered (indicating addresses and telephone numbers of its participants), but also must be given special authorization. But does not the constitution contain this "authorization" as a standard of life? The Theses talk about street marches and demonstrations as the realization of constitutional freedoms.

[Yu. Shchekochikhin] I would add that the following episode took place on the Old Arbat. Five activists from the "Memorial" Association were collecting signatures on an appeal to build a monument to the victims of Stalinist repressions. The militia arrested them and fined them 50 rubles under these very "interim rules." The editorial staff sent a letter to the procurator of Moscow; this high-ranking jurist responded that they were fined

according to the law. Thus, in Moscow, by authorization of the Moscow procurator investigating the legality, the constitution was "temporarily" suspended.

[A. Yakovlev] Constitutional oversight here would have also proved useful, since the procurator did not dare to protect the constitution from the Moscow Soviet. But this is not the only way. Public organizations have a powerful lever—public opinion. Having won it over, when the elections of deputies of the Moscow Soviet come, they could demonstrate their attitude towards all those who approved the anti-constitutional "rules."

[A. Vaksberg] I think we need a mechanism for protecting rights which would operate reliably, automatically, and unconditionally, and not according to someone's personal desire. For this it is necessary to develop a system of administrative and civil legal justice. Otherwise constitutional freedoms will remain only on paper.

[Yu. Shchekochikhin] Some things are already changing. The other day at a press conference, USSR Minister of Internal Affairs Aleksandr Vlasov reported that the militia now has a different attitude towards "unofficial gatherings" and their demonstrations. And literally the next day I saw on Pushkin Square a picket line with a poster calling for the nomination of certain representatives of our intelligentsia to the party conference—Yu. Afanasyev, Yu. Karyankin, V. Korotich. Imagine, the militiamen were not far away, standing cautiously—no inclination to arrest the picketers. Later I found out that there were 12 of these picket lines in Moscow.

[A. Yakovlev] There is another way—judicial protection of citizens' rights. Here, of course, there is a whole layer of problems. One is the state of the bar. In my view, its work has one major fault: It is oriented basically on defense in criminal proceedings, not civil. Criminal cases should occupy approximately 5 percent of its activities, and all others the remaining 95 percent. But now everything is the other way round in our bar. Why? Because a civilian case is more drawn-out, the attorney himself must conduct an investigation himself to some extent, but he is paid peanuts for these cases, unlike criminal cases. In essence, this is almost gratis work. For example, for writing a complaint the rate is 2 rubles. But in order to write it, he must study the facts of the case and familiarize himself with a mass of documents. Who will do this for 2 rubles? Those who "lowered" this rate, like alms, apparently did not even stop to think that they were undercutting the protection of rights in the sphere of civil cases.

[I. Karpets] As a result, the following takes place. Cooperatives have begun appearing for rendering legal assistance. Apparently, people who are not very competent legally work there. Recently I saw a statement of claim which was composed with this "assistance." It was written in good literary language and very emotional, but from a legal standpoint was absolutely ungrammatical. Meanwhile, it cost the person not 2, not 5, but more than

100 rubles for this ungrammatical paper. The client paid this money, which means there is a demand, but the supply of such services should be professional, not naively amateur. Restrictions must be removed from the bar and its status as a self-governing organization returned (now this self-government is more often fiction). Let the bar develop at the client's expense, by entering into contract relations with them.

On What Does The Fate of Reform Depend

[A. Vaksberg] The Theses state the need for "major legal reform," but distressingly little is said, in my view, about the fundamental reorganization of our law-enforcement system. Therefore, based on what has been said at our "round table," I would suggest the following clarification to the Theses: The law-enforcement system in a legal state is created and functions to protect people from violation of their rights in all spheres of life and activity.

[A. Yakovlev] I would like to develop the provision stated in the Theses on the need to increase the number of people's assessors in the court. In my view, this is one of the key aspects in establishing democratic principles of judicial proceedings... You see, every reform has very important issues which decide its fate. Thus, in the last century, when serfdom was abolished, the fate of the 1861 reform depended on the resolution of the principal question: Can peasants be sold like livestock or not? If not, reform takes place... Today in our economic reform, the transition to cost accounting, to a lease system of operation, also depends on a key decision: Will there be wholesale trade or not? If not, that means that cost accounting will not take place. The same for political reform: If we increase the number of assessors and give them the right to pass verdict on whether person is guilty or not, that is, create a collegium of people's assessors, then reform will take place.

[A. Vaksberg] Here is what must be noted as a revealing fact for our society and make it happy: For the first time the Theses, and this is an official document, it talks about the presumption of innocence. At last, our rights of citizenship are finding a principle most important for legal reform. This means that the efforts of scholars, writers, and columnists, who have been laboring for it in the press, particularly in recent years, have concluded with a most important achievement for the fate of millions of people. After all, the entire legal practice must be based on the intransigence of the existence of this cornerstone principle in law, since it is the basis of awareness of the law and the guarantee of unjust verdicts.

[I. Minayev] ...Unfortunately, a deficit in awareness of the law is felt even among jurists. It is known, for example, that unproven guilt means proven innocence. In this instance, the court must hand down a verdict of not guilty. We remit a case numerous times for supplementary investigations, which most often are useless,

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then the procurator's office quietly terminates it. The former accused, since he has not been acquitted publicly, goes around branded as being guilty, just that his guilt could not be proven.

[A. Vaksberg] This legal nihilism is the result of our unconsciousness. Today we are making no headway by discussing whether or not the institution of a jury of assessors is democratic, while we resolved this question more than 100 years ago! Not remembering our history, we forgot to celebrate the hundredth anniversary of the abolition of serfdom and the great reforms, primarily judicial, which followed. This is shameful! An occasion to correct this situation somehow will occur next year, in 1989, which will mark the 125th anniversary of this historic event.

[A. Yakovlev] I categorically support that. I would like to add this: The Theses contain a measure reference to the openness of judicial proceedings. It would be worthwhile to mention this in more detail, because the press is paying increasing attention to crime topics, but in doing so does not always take the stand of a presumption of innocence. The provision in the Theses on organizing general compulsory legal education seems to me to be quite important. Without purposeful propaganda of legal knowledge, we will not be able to form public awareness of the law.

[Yu. Poroykov] The subject of a legal state is boundless, and I do not think we will attempt to cover it all. It seems to me that we have outlined that the principle, base problems. Not all that has been said is indisputable, but that is natural for a discussion on the development of socialist democracy and the implementation of legal reform. We would hope that all that has been said will help the participants of the party conference in the search for optimum solutions to the problems which face perestroika.

12567

Delegates Discuss Theses Before Mounting Conference Rostrum

18000439 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 10 Jun 88 p 2

[Article, published under the rubric "Let Us Discuss the Theses of the CPSU Central Committee," by Special PRAVDA Correspondent V. Khatuntsev from Lipetsk: "They Do Not Lend Authority"]

[Text] Interest in the Theses of the CPSU Central Committee is high in all strata of the public. But these are being studied with particular attention by those who are to directly discuss this document at the 19th All-Union Party Conference. Certainly each of the delegates should be ready to take the floor and express his understanding of restructuring and make his own proposals. If someone intends to sit behind the backs of others, it would be better for him to cede his mandate to someone whose position is aggressive...

The conference delegate roundtable held at the Lipetsk Party Obkom has shown that the Central Committee Theses evoke reflections on the fate of restructuring, on the ways to deepen democracy and to raise the party's role in the life of society. The discussion began with a polemical exchange of opinions on the militancy of the primary party organizations.

"We are accustomed to the place and it is not to the point to use the phrase on the vanguard role of the communists," began the secretary of the shop party organization, V. Strelnikov, a milling machine operator from the Lebedyan Construction and Finishing Machine Plant. "At the same time we tolerate the fact that the party members are often among the mediocrities in the labor collectives: they do their job but in public life prefer 'not to stand out.' Where is the authority of the primary organization here?

"We have heard all sorts of explanations: supposedly the years of stagnation left their imprint on the rank-and-file party members, they have lost their taste for leadership and possibly some have been perplexed by the multiplicity of accumulating problems. Yes, we are responsible for all. However, over my 37 years as a party member, I cannot recall such a period when the destiny of our nation depended precisely upon the rank-and-file members as it does at present. It is impossible to extend the restructuring over several five-year plans and there is no time for vacillation. And from the affairs of our plant we can see that the collective is capable of a great deal. We are reconstructing the plant by the direct labor method, we are among the first to introduce the principles of wholesale trade and we intend within 7 years to provide each worker with a separate apartment or home. Nevertheless the passivity among the communists is striking."

V. Katkova, brigade leader from the Gryazi Gidroagregat Production Association, member of the CPSU obkom and gorkom:

"One can only support the provision in the Central Committee Theses where it states that higher demands should be placed on those joining the party. The drive for growth in the numbers of party member is doomed to the mere accumulation of dead wood. And let us not forget that at times the actual admission to the party is conducted formally. There are two or three questions on the Bylaws, an outline of personal biography and a few words on the production successes and that it all there is to it. We are particularly 'generous' to the workers in assuming that their political sophistication does not extend beyond the simplest information. Should one be surprised then that the party frequently receives very ordinary persons who do not possess a fighting character. A primary organization will have true authority only when it brings together actually the finest and the most respected. But for now we are fettered by admission

quotas and selection by questionnaire. We have to agitate to get the workers to join, while worthy, civilly mature engineers and technicians are forced to wait their turn."

O. Boriskin, second secretary of the CPSU obkom:

"Generally speaking, we do not issue membership quotas to the gorkoms and raykoms as such. However, as there is a demand for high-quality personnel on the spot they naturally observe a percentage quota...."

V. Markov, first secretary of the Lipetsk CPSU Gorkom:

"For us in admission the quota is as follows: One engineer or technician for four workers...."

O. Boriskin:

"We should work out some other criterion of selection. Certainly it is no secret that for some engineer or technician admission to the party guarantees promotion up the job ladder. It would be more democratic if we abandoned the stereotype of linking one or another job to party membership. The sociopolitical certification of the communists, as was mentioned in the Central Committee Theses, should be aimed at an open, profound and dispassionate examination of the personal quality of our ranks with the involvement, in my view, of the labor collectives."

V. Filimonova, party group organizer and plasterer brigade leader of the Zhilstroy Trust:

"It seems to me that this passivity derives from the weakness of our party leaders on the primary level. Just look who is quite often put or asked to 'be' the secretary—either the cadre worker or one or another from the office workers. Yes, they have more time to be concerned with party paperwork, however they are closer to the administration, and will not cross its will. For this reason, in the collectives the opinion develops that the communists side completely with the plant management and do not defend worker interests. Of course, you cannot increase authority this way."

V. Katkova:

"It is essential to give up the superior recommendations and decide ourselves who should be leader. For example, the party committee recommended that we select our own candidate for party bureau secretary and the communists chose P. Gabruk because Nikolay Vasilievich has his own firm and a different approach to others. The Theses state that in admission to the party the opinion of the labor collective must be consulted. That is correct."

M. Pertsev, first secretary of the Volovskiy CPSU Raykom:

"Do you know that more and more I am convinced that the development of intraparty democracy cannot go on outside the process of democratization in all society. Here we are talking about the election of leaders and about the details of such election. Over the 3 years of restructuring, I feel, everyone has been convinced that the secret, behind-the-doors choice of cadres does not stand the test of time. People are aware of things and their sympathy cannot be swayed by a questionnaire or official letter because they judge from deeds and from the qualities of the individual. For example, in the election of the chairman for the Rodina Kolkhoz, three candidates were fielded with instructions to chose as you like! But the people demanded the return of the former leader V. Grishanov who had already been transferred to the agroindustrial committee. Certainly public opinion had to be taken into account.

"In addition I would say that the experience gained in choosing economic managers must be extended more widely into the choice of party bodies. I feel that the discussion of this at the Party Conference will be long and profound. It is my opinion that the thesis of "true competitiveness" has a much broader content than may seem at first glance."

V. Markov:

"I agree fully with this. For example, what do the city inhabitants know about me? In practical terms, nothing, only on a level of gossip. But we certainly do not need a cover of secrecy. Let the people know what family the first secretary has, how he lives, what are his hobbies and what is the family budget. We are still not used to saying much openly. Even in the 'open broadcasts' the questions of the citizens do not involve the personal. Certainly competitiveness presupposes not merely a comparison of the production indicators, but primarily the professional, intellectual and personal qualities. In elections in the primary organizations it is easier to consider these parameters if a person is in public view. It is more difficult for our brother because, like it or not, the 'first' in the rayon or city is responsible for everything."

V. Sushentsev, first secretary of the Yelets CPSU Gorkom:

"Possibly he should not be responsible for everything. The Central Committee Theses unambiguously state that the soviet and economic bodies must not be replaced by the party committees. I recently, as you know, was elected first secretary and I am already convinced how much has been 'imposed' on the party gorkom, both important and rather secondary. The task is certainly to let people feel that they are the boss and the effectiveness of public opinion depends on them."

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O. Boriskin:

We must be able to shape public opinion, consider it flexibly and constantly learn from it. Each of the party leaders, be he a party group organizer or a first secretary, furthers party authority only in the instance that his influence on the restructuring is concrete and competitiveness is manifested not in fine words and appeals but in real deeds."

V. Markov:

"I support this notion and it is worth discussing that at the All-Union Party Conference. Certainly if the secretaries receive a vote of confidence from the representatives of essentially all the city or rayon party organizations, this imposes a special responsibility and also gives definite authority.

"However, I have a comment on the question of limiting the term of office. Let us assume that a communist has been promoted from a job in production to the secretary of a party gorkom. At best the person transferring can count in the future on 10 years. But what about after this? As a specialist in his sector he will clearly fall behind his fellow workers and lose some knowledge. Does not a situation arise where the elected party officials will lose prestige?"

N. Pervets:

"Moreover, who would dispute that party work is a sort of profession... You do not study this in any university. From experience I would say that the mastering of a position would require 3-5 years of experience. But after 10 years the leader has developed and he is a specialist in his job. Where is he to go, should he be moved horizontally? There are still unanswered questions here."

V. Sushentsev:

"Incidentally, on the question of a third term. You will agree that after 10 years of leadership, it would be possible to select a party committee membership where you would have not only three-quarters of the votes but all 100 percent. I feel that precisely for this reason, in the third term the voting must be secret in conferences so that the democracy of voting is not replaced by secret activity."

V. Strelnikov:

"If worker communists and true leaders are elected to a committee, then there will be no secret activity. Ten years are certainly enough to understand how a leader is in fact and how he is developing as a party leader. If he has not proven worthy, then one must not regret where he finds work subsequently. In the specialty at the enterprise from whence he came. Why leave failsafes? Let a person realize the responsibility of his election. Then truly authentic leaders will come forward.

"Other proposals of mine. The elections of the party committee secretaries should be conducted by secret balloting at conferences with the right to put up a larger number of candidates. The elections of the primary party organization secretaries should be at open party meetings by secret balloting of all the communists."

The roundtable participants spoke about much that was important. Enthusiasm, independence of opinions and judgments and personal experience in restructuring—this is the baggage that the delegates from the Lipetsk party organization intend to take to the forum. Whoever of them speaks from the rostrum, the main idea is the common one, that is, strengthening party authority, the democratizing of our life and the irreversibility of the revolutionary changes. The future of the nation lies here.

10272

Authoritarianism of Local Leaders Must Be Eradicated

18000437a Moscow *PRAVDA* in Russian 11 Jun 88 p 2

[Article by Ivan Vasilyev: "Remove the Iron Press of Authoritarianism"; article printed under the rubric "Discussing the CPSU Central Committee Theses"]

[Text] The mass media, it seems, have already done adequate groundwork to convince us that the chief enemy of renewal in society is the bureaucracy. They have done this with facts, not words. And facts have the property of being personified. In essence, without a person there is no fact, for while the bolt from the blue is impersonal, everything that happens between people comes without fail from someone. So it is with the bureaucracy: we must seek out the bureaucrat. And where should he be sought if not behind his desk, for the word itself means the authority of the desk. And so, the chief of the department is the bureaucrat. And so we see any official as an enemy of perestroika.

Of course, it is not difficult to refute this assertion. If we look into it a little we will find many of the features and little traits of bureaucracy in ourselves: being only for ourselves, our own interests, not making others' troubles our own troubles... But let us not delve deeply into the nature of the phenomenon but rather look toward where today the gaze of society is fixed—on the offices and desks. The enemy really is there.

There he is, but who is he? There is no name plate on the desk saying "enemy," "supporter" or "neutral"; nor on the faces. How can he be determined? And what inspector would take on a "sorting" function?

I was recently at a large meeting where more than half of these present were people from behind desks, and I heard the speeches and there was no hint of bureaucracy; everyone was in favor of renewal. Have they restructured themselves or is it a put-up job? I think it is both. But

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how to distinguish? From the enthusiasm or the unpretentiousness? Loud words, of course, are associated with twaddle, but we must also give due consideration to real passion, something revolutionary! And so, speech is no argument. What then? Actions! Deeds. Specific business. What a person does and how he does it. We are learning to assess this; we are able to distinguish the enemy from the supporter. And for this we must be able to think.

Our time is a time of mental labor for everyone. As they say, everyone must think with his head. Is this simple? Alas! no. And what we must think about is not the capabilities of the official (although this also needs consideration) but about the data available. Otherwise known as information. If we are going to judge according to actions then we must know everything about those actions. How they were considered, why in this way rather than that way, who proposed what, who assessed the results, analyzed the errors and so forth. When we have this kind of information we can think. It is to make a judgment about the doer. Hence, the essential nature of this lies in glasnost. Not proclaimed, but actual.

It would seem that here, too, there are complaints about faults. Just look at how, without respect of persons, the press is reprimanding the specific bearers of bureaucracy. Press criticism is no longer impersonal and vague. Very well. But... not quite. Because criticism in a newspaper is a variety of "command" criticism. The newspaper as the organ of some committee or other nevertheless stands above the bureaucrat, and hence criticism comes from above. It is, of course, unpleasant and may lead to organizational conclusions, but essentially it is not so terrible for the official with his connections; he can be moved from one position to another, that is all. So little by little they become accustomed to it.

We are talking about something else—about information that entails intellectual work. Always considering the facts critically. And therefore a desire to obtain for consideration not ready-made facts, compiled facts, but the process by which the fact occurs.

Each day officials in the country make millions of decisions, both alone and collegially. Take, for example, the village and rayon offices, whose decisions and resolutions affect in the most direct way both production and the individual. How do we obtain information from them, and what kind of information? In the village they post an order, the brigade leader is notified, and he talks it over with his people and one of them handles it. In the rayon the newspaper prints it, a circular is sent out, telephone calls are made... In ready-made form. Like a fait accompli. It can be discussed later and approval proposed. But we do not know what to discuss. Management? The rayispolkom? The raykom? A faceless group of chiefs. So is their failure to agree with the spread of information and the fact that we call everyone bureaucrats surprising? And if in a collegium there has been (if there was) a controversy, there has been (if there was) a disagreement by a minority. But who was involved in the

controversy and what was it that they disagreed with? We do not see the individuals, we do not distinguish the individual for the position. But they are our elected officials, delegated by us to the organ. How can we find out what they are doing there?

There are sort of opportunities for this: meetings, accountability reports, open-letter days... But again it is the results: what they discussed, adopted, decided... In short, what is needed is information about the process by which decisions are adopted, and information about individuals. For example, under the rubric "In the Raykom Buro" a rayon newspaper publishes a report: such-and-such a resolution has been adopted. There is not one word about the discussion. At the same time a detailed reportage is made on the meeting of the people's control committee and individual positions can be seen immediately. There is food for thought here. IZVESTIYA recently published a reportage from a meeting of the USSR government and the positions of the ministers were hardly explained at all. In an interview with F.T. Morgun central television stated that it would provide regular information about the activity of the State Committee for Environmental Protection. It would appear that the ice has been broken. On the main river. The tributaries are stilled bound with a coating of silence.

The impression has been created that this is the fault of the newspaper people: they are too lazy to report things. The fault lies not with the newspaper people but with the collegiums themselves. They have abandoned accountability "downward." And this has not happened all at once. During the long years that I worked on the newspapers I attended many hundreds of meetings and I can judge for myself the diminution that is taking place. A curve of diminishing independence. Previously at meetings someone more bold would defend his viewpoint, argue, and vote against something. Later his opinion would start to move "underground." Common sense demanded opposition but the voice of the "mechanical cog" would be forced to agree. Sometimes he voted "for" something and acted "against" it, but did this on the sly, one on one, so that in the event something happened he could abandon it.

The personality started to disintegrate. The essence of this process is that the interests of the matter were supplanted by an awareness of personal interests. When a person was working for a cause he was independent and bold in defending his opinion, but as soon as he started to be concerned only with retaining his position he became a toady. The number of determined people declined. They went off somewhere. From my own observations they went off to some lively business. But there were also those who remained on the sidelines and lived out their lives there. But most stopped "showing themselves" and were burdened down with their own concerns. Society lost its fighters. We see this clearly now. They have started to turn now, but those at the helm...

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We see the reason for this primarily in the enrooted ideas about unity in the organ. It is considered that any committee or soviet or board must act as a monolith. In fact this is after an issue has been resolved and the time has come to act in unity, and of course this is essential, otherwise one pulls on way and the other pulls the other. But what I have in mind is another unity—authoritarian unity, when everyone looks to the “number one” to see what he will say. There is no arguing with the Boss. The Boss has received his instructions, he is aware of the “opinion” that must be shaped from me and from the entire committee. And I am not going to “jump up,” I am not going to show my hand before the old fellow shows his...

How many such meetings I remember! You used to sit and think about why the meeting had been called and what arrangements had been made, and this was just beating the air. Impossible, it was not good form! The ritual was there to be observed. Some kind of shamanism, but not a meeting. The power of the high priest. You are about to speak; but think: this is not harmonious. And here is the interesting thing: all these people “watching your lips” are arrogant people. And they give your own arrogance a certain dignity. God save you from having to argue with such people! If, of course, your rank is lower. And if it is higher, you may slight them as you please, sit on your dignity. Whence be beget the following: “being put on the carpet,” “taking the crumbs,” “beating sense into people”... Do you feel the mutual understanding set in these idioms? “I am the boss, you are a fool, you are the boss, I am the fool.” How can independence be shown in such circumstances? It is stifled, poor thing, in the iron press of authoritarianism.

It has still not been removed. To proclaim liberation does not mean actual liberation. Here we have self-liberation. If a burden is taken from you, your back is still bent. It is not other people who get rid of the curvature, but you yourself. They can only egg you on from the sidelines: well, they say, you are walking about bent over, straighten yourself up, boldly now! But for this you need to see someone else who has straightened himself up while you are still bent. So look to what he does, judge him from his actions. This means that both the business to hand and the actions must be accessible to sound and sight. And so the reportage is essential. It is essential to reveal both the thoughts and the deeds of the armchair official, and to make things public, remove the covers from the secrecy.

Let us, however, consider the “residual hunchback”—arrogance. A serious impediment. Arrogance is not an independent opinion, though it is close, but it stems from a different root: independence comes from a cause, arrogance from rank. Parochial arrogance, sometimes known as “local patriotism” or “honor of the uniform,” is particularly dangerous. “What, learn from my neighbors; but this means that we are not as good as them”; this is what you hear from the lips of the rayon or oblast chief. And if such a person is ordered to go there for

some experience, and if he sees the achievements of his neighbor, then he necessarily starts to seek out who it was who foretold this. It is not his job to try to put things right but to make himself look good.

For this is the phenomenon: we do not ferret out the “secrets,” we do not try to elicit them or buy them, but turn away from them and run from them like the devil runs from incense. The ordeals of our work efficiency experts and inventors is a tragic epic of single combat of thought, and arrogance. Yes, arrogance, the child of bureaucracy, which has become the essential nature of the bureaucrat, and it will be reproduced until it is no longer the desk but the business at hand that is formed. Accordingly, while appealing for the struggle of opinions in the committees and collegiums, it is essential to fling open the main doors more quickly, not only for reporters but first and foremost for cost accounting. Cost accounting is the best medicine against the “residual hunchback.” And if the doors are not flung open, what then? Consider everyone sitting behind a desk to be a bureaucrat? But the goal there too is perestroika. Hence, there are also warriors for renewal. Yes, and essentially from where everything started; our revolution is coming from above!

Minds have been opened, become better, independent, listening to the concern of the people and not fearing to assume responsibility for things done by others. But minds are mediators, more the expressions of self-importance, and they are still maintaining an atmosphere of aimless activity, simulating perestroika activity. There are few of the former but many, far too many, of the latter. This proportion is giving rise to the special features of this period of perestroika, particularly the stubborn resistance against glasnost. Why? Because it is precisely glasnost that is a fundamental condition for critical work by minds.

And so much in this opposition is refinement! There is speculation on the unity of the leading collegium (whoever is in disagreement is accused of factionalism, the pursuit of cheap authority, conceit), and pressure on the press (not to create unhealthy attitudes), and regulations for meetings (to direct things into the proper channel), and compromises by instigators (we must still see that he is a person), and the organization of contrary opinion (the collective thinks otherwise); in short, the arsenal of means is rich, you merely have to find a suitable case. But the aim is the same, namely, not to give the floor to someone who thinks differently, not to permit access to the people. The line is clear and very well known: the masses cannot think. If they start to think they will no longer be obedient and will stop idolizing rank.

Notwithstanding, how can the member of the committee who thinks differently be heard? How can the open mind be heard? Certainly not from the heights above the clouds whither a mere mortal may not venture, but from one's own hill—the village hill, the settlement hill, the city hill. A voice from far above may be heard, but

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everyone lives, as they say, in his own parish and he listens to his own father: and he reads the homilies and forgives the sins. But is there any enlightenment here?; that is the question. There is. It has been and is all around. But the yoke of provincial authoritarianism is great. The provinces are conservative, this is one of their attributes, and bureaucracy there is especially dull and filled with envy.

A rural engineer came to me to share his thoughts. A communist. And for years, and with a mature mind. This is what he said: "I did not join the party for mercenary reasons, but for ideas of the soul. But I see things in life with which I cannot agree. Perhaps there is something I do not understand? I registered with an evening institute of Marxism-Leninism. I listened to the lectures for 3 years and studied the primary sources, and I understand them correctly. And I look around and there is no similarity with the theory, everything is twisted. We have a little tin god—the chairman. He has been in office for 33 years. If a kolkhoz farmer speaks against him there is a roar on the board: throw him out of the kolkhoz! And imagine: not a hand is raised against this. Of course, there are complaints, and commissions arrive, but the remarkable thing is that all the commissions are literally bewitched, not a word is said against the tin god, and the guilty ones are the people, not the god: they were not suitable. And you think to yourself: where does he get his power, why do people 20 times over endure the burden of this master? I do not know whether or not this is right but I have concluded that it is his entourage. He needs an entourage and he maintains it and directs it. If someone does not suit you then scheme against him and other hands will remove him. And he is suitable for both the village and the rayon entourage. You cannot prove anything to anyone, you just hurt your head."

And people have been fighting for years: they send their complaints in writing, go to the raykom, to the people's control committee, the procurator's office, the courts, the newspapers, round and round a blank wall. Its name its the power of arrogance, the corruption of haughtiness. There is no reason here because it is not difficult to overtake reason: the little god is rotten to the core. He may sit on a throne and seem omnipotent, but inside there is rottenness and decay. Arrogance fed by self-interest is disaster that worsens the best minds. Enlightenment comes slowly, diffidently, cautiously. No fresh winds blow across the provinces; stagnation and arrogance reign! It is difficult for enlightened minds. The person in the provinces who has the central newspapers sent out to him from the capital will receive drops that barely touch the crust of his consciousness, scarcely dampen it, but nothing gets to the roots; the roots of consciousness can be drink their fill only from locally heavy rains, and there are none...

And here, if we agree that today the main thing is glasnost, do not disregard the tribunes [places] and the tribunes [people]. From what tribunes and tribunes do the calls for renewal come? Does the enlightened mind

always sound out from the printed page? Yes, forgive me, my brothers in the capital, here in the depths of the provinces we hear, but we do not always understand. It is as if the word does not reach, there is no feeling. There is meaning in feeling. Pain, concern or... arrogance? Self-importance or independent opinion? Examine whatever tribune you like, comprehend motives, then re-examine it: for what is he appealing, and why? We wait for a lucid mind from him but he is sick with arrogance. Many tribunes are engaged with such fervor in explaining mutual understanding, with such stubbornness crave to bring the enemy to his knees, want to say to him: if only your passion were for the common cause! This cause is encouraging the people to revolutionary thinking and action, not to replacing one icon with another. The awakened mind itself understands who is an original and who a copy, who is a mountain and who a molehill.

And this is what happens to the mind: the tribunes share out the services to history, re-allocate the contributions to culture, and move the laurels from one portrait to another: the bureaucracy can sleep without sleeping pills. It is not worried about the arguments and brawls of "higher" minds; what it fears is the enlightenment of the "lower" minds. While now and again considering the tribunes, and even honoring them, the bureaucracy applauds bold depositors of authoritarians, but only until they appeal to the tribunes, having forgotten about reprisals, or to the people, or until they rise up to defend the people against the local bureaucracy. Journalists, writers, engineers and teachers have come to know in full measure what this turns on: the local tribunes.

Pick up any newspaper; you will find an example. In one newspaper they were recently talking about taming the journalists in Kuybyshev; in another, the subject was a "real campaign against the writer" in Ryazan; in a third, taming television journalists in Arkhangelsk. Dumbfounding! And so they hurry to the tribunes in the capital, to, for example, the Union of Writers, for help for their brother, but where exactly? They do not get involved in kitchen brawls. They will debate things and sharpen their quills and... put ashore a literary landing party deep in the rear—to glorify their own names. And what can they do in the provinces, how to be enlightened minds? Perhaps, after the example of the South Sakhalin people, convene a meeting, elect an "initiative group" (is this not a new soviet?) and using pressure from below free up the leading armchairs from the people sitting in them? Or follow the example of workers at the Novosibirsk "Travninskiy" sovkhoz and elect for themselves a director who is a man who has twice been convicted in the rayon and expelled from the party? It seems that things have reached the point where no way can be seen to seize power, or any other way to stop a rabid bureaucracy.

Some tribunes assure us that the conclusion about today's growing resistance by the bureaucracy is false and dangerous and may lead us god only knows where. And what about the law by which the struggle of the new

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against the old is developed: birth, culmination, decline? Perhaps, according to the information that society is receiving, it may already be concluded that culmination is behind us? But the mass media are saying something else, about growth. To assume that what is desired is the reality; this is the old disease of the tribunes who yearn to see more quickly the fruits of their own revolutionary activity.

Newspaper and journal journalism is fighting the bureaucracy actively and persistently but it still analyzes what is happening today while every indication is that the need is to forecast tomorrow. My most frequent visitors—practical people from the countryside and small towns—are alarmed by the serious mismatch between the activeness from above and the passiveness from below, and they ask the same question: when will perestroyka reach us? They are waiting for it like they wait for an imported article: when will it appear on the store shelves? I say: when enlightenment at the local level starts to realize that this is not a perestroyka of desks and offices but change in our entire way of life, and the essence of change is to move away from the position of depression and cast off the servile subjection to officialdom.

But although they also express the essential nature of revolutionary perestroyka, such appeals are still too general and perhaps not very persuasive. What does "change the way of life" mean to a person from the management sphere? At each level on the pyramid he is his own man, and if we look at it level by level then it appears that nothing can be changed at root, and only parts can be renewed. The harsh reality is that more than half of the "populations" at all levels must understand the erroneous nature of their own fate and their own selection. To understand the nonessential nature of their work for society, and hence of themselves as workers in particular places.

Take the lowest level of the pyramid, its bottom level—the village and rayon. There are many examples of, say, a sovkhoz transferring fully to the lease contract system, and reducing the administrative apparatus by a factor of seven to ten, when 50 managerial personnel are now not needed where a year ago no one doubted that they were irreplaceable. And here we have a regular rural rayon in the Nonchernozem zone: 4,000 people are employed in the sphere of material production in the subdivisions of the agro-industrial complex, while in the rayon offices there are 900. Each set of four workers is supporting one drone. The populations continues to decline but the staffs of the rayon offices remain the same and even have a tendency to grow. And what next? Consequently, there must be change. What? Only in work places? If that were to happen, then as before, the next reduction in staffs would mean, yes, the regular switching from place to place. Today this is a radical alteration in the existence of all our work, a break with society's ideas about labor.

A society based on public ownership was strung together with a strong-willed management—what is now called the Administrative System was created. This system is made up of workers as it were on wheels, that they themselves drive and set others in motion specified from the center, the apex of the pyramid. One of the consequences of this, in my opinion, is destructive and also affects both the material and spiritual life of society, namely, that it started a mass pumping out of talent from the production sphere into the management sphere, and there leveled them, squeezing the independent and the original into the uniform shape of the functionary. Production initiative, which has always formed the active person, was supplanted by ingenuity in the sphere of distribution. The following idea took firm root in the social consciousness: to raise children into people means to groom them for clean, easy work, reading in an office, in any calling regardless of desire or calling, of bent or nomination, as long as it not in the fields, not with the cows, not on the construction site. Need it be said that productive work has fallen in value, become something without prestige, supposedly suitable for the failures who are unable to elbow their way in.

There have always been many who give themselves up to debauchery. The system met this wish, always sucking into itself new reinforcements. It grew excessively large and offices multiplied like amoebas—by simple division. The crush and crowds started at the doors, and mediocrity was protected. The system was now self-sustaining. The well-upholstered coach into which those craving a comfortable ride clustered threatened to bring the train to a standstill. And it did stop, and it can go no further; the number of passengers must be reduced to the number that the coach can hold... Warping of the soul, destruction of the bases of morality—this is what was achieved as a result on the road that we chose and that led us into a blind alley. Therefore, what was needed was not renovation but a radical change in the entire way of life.

Who to start with? Essentially we are still only talking, proposing, discussing, and of course adjustment is needed, but it is time to get down to business. Let us get started, do something, discover something: things are moving slowly. Slowly because the System remains unaffected. It is the same as it was, operating under the conditions set earlier. It does not want openness, it opposes glasnost, it is idle in exerting itself with thinking, and it is also frequently incapable of independent thinking.

In this kind of situation it is no simple matter to break out of the general environment, open the mind and be transformed from a leader on the schedule to a revolutionary leader. But today it is precisely revolutionary thought and action that life is demanding. This means that we must start with the party committee, and from the party committee. First of all, of course, there must be organizational restructuring; the 19th All-Union Party Conference will define this. It will also elaborate directions. But what it will not be able to do is fill the work of

each committee with specific substance. Substance is a creative matter. And under conditions of authoritarianism creativity is inconceivable. Consequently, I suggest that the first thing on which the committee should focus its attention should be affirming an atmosphere of openness and glasnost, joint quest, and the ability to think differently and act as one. Oh, how difficult this is! For many decades the idea has been firmly entrenched that in the rayon there is no authority greater than the raykom and there is no power greater than the first secretary's. And now we must break with this idea about omnipotence, throw out what has been conferred upon us and find something new.

I would like to dwell on two factors that bear directly on our reflections. The communist and the economic leader with solid seniority says: "Take a look at the Central Committee resolution; what is written there? Where and how we must further advance. But all this is general and broad. But where are the specific instructions?"...

There we have it: decades of obedience to instructions drilled into lower cadres. No arguments; diligent performance of duty is the strong point of our executives. When they are given clear and precise definite instructions to build, for example, bulky farmsteads, demolish an unpromising village, raise a "nonstandard" kind of animal, they know how to act and they act quickly and decisively. What the end result of this is is another question; there is no requirement for results, they are evaluated by performance. These cadres cannot be sent anywhere; they are there holding power and they are effecting perestroika, or more accurately, they are waiting for instructions about when and how to start it, and they fail utterly to grasp that there will be no specific instructions and that they must act themselves, and that each one must change the way of life in his own place. And this is the most difficult thing of all to understand. Themselves? And suddenly things are different? Well, if you want us to change tell us how to do it and we will arrange things completely. But what kind of institution can arrange our country if not our minds and thinking about the country.

Another rural leader, continuing, as it were, the doubts of the first, asks me: "In your articles you call us 'Bonapartes' and 'lords of the manor'; does it not seem to you that this is insulting us?" No, it does not. There are more than enough examples of it. And again, the characteristic feature cultivated in leaders in the Administrative System is to look at themselves and evaluate their actions not as the proxies of the collectives but as the representatives of a higher organ within the collective. That is, he can make no sense at all of the fact that he is obliged to develop not suppress internal village democracy, involve all the masses in management—like a teacher!; or that as a leader he is clever not because he has the mind of a chief but because of the common sense by which people are led.

Yes, society must seriously reckon with the body of managers stagnating in ideas about their own role as the rulers of people's destinies. Much time will be needed before an understanding comes about what democracy in fact really is. This means that the demand for thinking work is great and urgent. And already today it is acute in the minds of the enlightened, the independent and the original!

09642

Kursk Obkom Chief Interviewed on Cadre Problems

*18000448 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA
in Russian 11 Jun 88 p 1*

[Interview with Aleksandr Ivanovich Seleznev, first secretary of the Kursk Oblast Party Committee and delegate to the party conference, by correspondent T. Belya: "The Right To Make Mistakes"; date and place not given]

[Text] We are literally days away from the beginning of the 19th All-Union Party Conference. Among the most acute issues being discussed are those that have to do with personnel. This is understandable: the question of whether the reform of the political system will take place depends in large part on who happens to be in the positions of leadership at all levels, on what position these people will take, and on the kind of methods they will operate with. Our correspondent T. Belya talks about these problems with Aleksandr Ivanovich Seleznev, first secretary of the Kursk Oblast Party Committee and delegate to the party conference.

[Question] Aleksandr Ivanovich, you have been working as first secretary of the obkom since the beginning of this year. I suppose that these 5 months have not been easy ones for you....

[Answer] Perhaps I find myself in a somewhat better situation—the oblasts in the Central Chernozem are familiar to me from my previous work. This is helpful to me in my new area. I consider a knowledge of people to be the main thing for me.

It is not easy for a new leader—the closest attention is concentrated on him. People check his every word against his actions to catch a mistake. It is important not to disappoint people. Unfortunately, in recent decades party officials have frequently been seen not as leaders, but rather as managers. Even now people, I feel, are not always open and frank. Sometimes when I talk with someone I feel that he is not talking to me, Seleznev, Aleksandr Ivanovich, but...with my position, the office I hold. Both fawning flattery and servility. I travel to a rayon, I go into a restaurant for a meal. You go to pay and it is simply awful. There are times when you almost have to force them to take your money....

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It seems to me that when a new leader comes to a party organization, both the individual person and the entire party organization stand to gain.

[Question] In short, you do not favor a man's staying too long in an elective position?

[Answer] Exactly right. The Theses of the CPSU Central Committee for the 19th All-Union Party Conference contain a provision concerning the need to limit tenure in elective positions in the CPSU to two 5-year terms. This is consistent with ideas I have held for a long time. My vote as a delegate goes for the regular replacement of party leaders.

[Question] The editors have received quite a few letters from the local level to the effect that even a breath of restructuring is not being felt locally. You went to Kursk from Moscow, where you headed a sector in the CPSU Central Committee. Is perestroika actually having trouble getting beyond the "borders of the capital," and are the conservative forces in the "provinces" stronger at the present time?

[Answer] There have, of course, been certain changes for the better everywhere. But today we no longer need a "breath," but the full-blooded life of every cell of the social organism. The forces that are holding back are strong at the present time—and this is true even in the higher echelons at the oblast level. Everyone says he is in favor of perestroika, but certain party members show people in their actions that they are opposed—and they include quite a few leaders. A number of leaders are living the old stereotypes, convinced that their style is exactly what is needed.

Just since the beginning of this year 265 members and candidates for membership have been expelled in the oblast party organization for various types of breaches of the party bylaws, more than 200 of these were related to drunkenness. There were also leaders among them.

[Question] During discussion of the Theses extreme proposals were expressed quite often. For example: completely replace the party apparatus at the local level, since leaders who had gone through the lengthy "school" of the period of stagnation cannot get rid of the old methods. What is your point of view on this?

[Answer] My thought may appear paradoxical to you, but the work has to be done and the decisions of the party implemented with the people in place. Perhaps they are not ideal and were shaped in the "era of the stagnation." You cannot write for "miracle workers" from other planets, nor can you wait until new generations grow up.

The comrades-in-arms are honest thinking people devoted to the idea of perestroika and there is no question that they have made mistakes. Of course, it has been my position and still is that any leader, especially

from among young officials, must have the right to make mistakes. Not to commit a violation of his office (not to mention a crime), but to make an ordinary human mistake.

Let us recall the Lenin Guard. Unanimous devotion to the cause of socialism prevailed in it, but not a conformity of ideas. There were disputes, conflicts of opinion—and some were erroneous. And this is wonderful—after all, that is how the truth was born. Gradually, the party official began to become an idol who was always right in all things. But that is not the way it is in life, and instead of infallible right-minded people without defects, there grew up a multitude of dull and cautious party bureaucrats afraid of not guessing the "line." The pathological fear of making a mistake results in a loss of initiative. Risks have to be taken on behalf of the new, and even if the risk involves certain costs, it is justified.

[Question] It would seem logical to seek personnel for work guiding the party and the economy from among those who had gone through the school of Komsomol elective bodies, but this pool has not always justified hopes.

[Answer] The devotion of Komsomol committees to the bureaucratic style, the pomposity of many organization hacks makes one bitter. It makes you want to say: "Children, wake up, you are young!" But this is a fault not only and not so much of Komsomol as of the older comrades. When the first secretary of the party raykom perceives his area as his own private domain, he expects imitation by the Komsomol leader as well.

It is a very widespread error to promote a man to an elective position in Komsomol who has not gone through hardening in a work collective. But he would work mainly with young workers and rural young people. This kind of Komsomol leader has not looked young people in the eye and is afraid of going to the young people in the shop, in the plant, and on the livestock farm. And if he does go, he gets in an embarrassing position and after such misfires, he surrounds himself with severity and unapproachability as a kind of armor. It would seem that if the future leader "got the smell of the gunpowder" in a work collective, there would be fewer bureaucrats.

As for relations between the party and Komsomol, it has long been high time to make the transition from petty interference and urging to real leadership and cooperation.

[Question] What is your attitude toward the word "career"? It is thought, alas, with some foundation, that a party card is necessary if one wants to climb higher.

[Answer] I am convinced that the number of managers in the economy who do not belong to the party will be increasing steadily. That is in fact what the party's central committee is aiming for. It is difficult to break up stereotypes, but indispensable. Quite recently a young

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person who does not belong to the party was elected chairman of a kolkhoz in Khomutovskiy Rayon. The point of departure must be not whether the person has a party card, but whether he has abilities.

[Question] Aleksandr Ivanovich, please answer in conclusion the questionnaire of the delegate of KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA.

[Answer] In view of the configuration of your newspaper, allow me to place principal emphasis on the problems of young people. I would like to emphasize the provision of the Theses to the effect that the political system of socialism cannot function fully without reliance on public organizations. I would add: first of all and mainly on Komsomol. This is our reserve, our replacement.

I am resolutely opposed when party committees limit their role in leadership of Komsomol to the oversimplified formula of "prohibiting or permitting."

I think that we should discuss openly in the conference the question of invigorating Komsomol organizations, of participation in all the processes of perestroika. There are still quite a few examples of its just being pulled along at the local level. We need concrete and visible changes in every primary organization, in every work collective. And individuals are needed to carry them out. Including young individuals.

07045

Journalist Considers Effects of Democratization on Party
18000477 Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian 14 Jun 88 p 3

[Article by Mikhail Poltoranin, political columnist of the Novosti Press Agency: "Purifying Society Through Self-Purification of the Party"]

[Text] Democratization of the CPSU is a fundamental issue of all restructuring in the country, where a one-party system has developed historically. As it is done in the party, so it is done in society. Consequently, the road to renovation is through self-purification of the CPSU, through reinterpreting its role.

What should the party become after undergoing the restructuring course of treatment? It should become a political vanguard of the Soviet society, receptive to the reality surrounding us and living according to democratic norms, without ideological stereotypes and monopoly ambitions, with freedom of debate and with leaders replaced on a regular basis.

The paths to this are outlined in the Theses of the CPSU Central Committee to the 19th All-Union Party Conference, published by Soviet press. They state that "the

party has found in itself the strength to assess courageously and self-critically the situation which has developed. After beginning restructuring, it will transform itself step by step." The theses are a tentative program for reform of the political system in the USSR. This is a platform for discussions which will continue in our country until the 19th Conference and will take place at the conference itself, where the "clean" version of the reform plan will also be determined.

The practice whereby party organs are jacks-of-all-trades and try to be in command of all spheres of culture, everyday life and production long ago proved its untenability. The need to delimit the functions between political, economic and state institutions was also stated long ago, but the structure of party committees remained unchanged, with numerous sectorial departments: heavy and light industry, agriculture, economics and the like. But as long as these subdivisions exist, their interference into the affairs of "their" departments is inevitable.

The theses advanced for the first time a proposal to change the structure of party committees. In all probability, this involves eliminating sectorial departments and reducing the machinery. There are plans to revive its strict accountability to elective bodies, which should put an end to the omnipotence of paid functionaries.

Let the soviets of people's deputies concern themselves with their affairs and the ministries or social organizations with theirs, but the party should renounce methods of power pressure. Its job is to develop a theory and strategy of social development and formulate an ideology of renovation, that is, influence the processes by political methods. Then pretentiousness and secrecy mania will disappear from the party work style. Sincerity and open dialogue with society will take their place.

It is appropriate to ask: Is the CPSU, numbering nearly 20 million communists, ready for such a drastic change in its destiny? After all, control of the party ranks by "voucher," practiced since Stalin's time, has cluttered them with various time-servers who hid their true colors in the colors of bolshevism for purely careerist reasons. Yes, a considerable number of communists have welcomed restructuring as a long-awaited guest. But one also cannot disregard the amicable contingents of opponents of renovation. Therefore, the idea is expressed in the theses to consider at the conference the expediency of conducting a socio-political certification of communists during the time remaining before the next CPSU congress as an effective means of self-purification and strengthening of the party.

The procedure for forming elective bodies, proposed today by the Central Committee, would also increase the prestige of the CPSU. By the way, many authors of articles published earlier in the press stated this. True competition (several contenders for one mandate), wide discussion of candidacies, and secret ballot should become the norm in elections, from party and city

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committees to the CPSU Central Committee. But even these democratic innovations will not save the leading party cadres from degeneration if there is no mechanism for regularly replacing them. It has been decided to set 5 years as a single term of office for all party committees, including raykoms and gorkoms. In so doing, it is expedient to limit elective offices to two consecutive terms. Election to a third consecutive term is possible only in exceptional cases.

It is also proposed that the Leninist conception of the principle of democratic centralism be restored, according to which the freedom of debate during discussion of issues and unity of actions after decisions have been made by the majority must be ensured. Really, is it possible to carry out restructuring successfully without restructuring the activities of primary party organizations? An atmosphere of openness, undaunted criticism, collectivism and personal responsibility has still not been established in them.

Improving monitoring and auditing work would promote the development of intraparty democracy. The Central Auditing Commission of the CPSU and the Party Control Committee under the CPSU Central Committee are functioning now. A proposal is being made to have henceforth one body which would be elected by the party congress to monitor observance of the Rules of the CPSU by communists. To ensure a constant influx of fresh forces, the need for a partial replacement of the Central Committee staff during the period between congresses inevitably rises to mind.

So, at the 19th All-Union Party Conference we will have to clean out the bed of the river called the CPSU from its very source. Which of the theses to introduce with amendments into the Party Rules, what to add to them, and what to reject will depend on the delegates. Therefore, the heated fervor in the country about their elections has still not subsided.

12567

Thesis on 'Socialist Legal State' Reviewed
18000479 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 21 Jun 88 p 3

[Article by Yu. Feofanov: "Authority and the Law"]

[Text] When I thought of the old truth that one stupid person can put more questions than even 100 wise ones can answer, I set aside my pen. And then my memory dredged up what a leading figure of science has said: the main thing is putting the question. So I decided to sail between Scylla and Charybdis....

I beg readers' forgiveness for these "stylistic turns." But the reason is that the thesis of a state based on law has aroused in me so many questions that I cannot but pose them, if only to myself. I do not see the answers. At various times, this time even before the Theses, I have

presented some of the problems to competent lawyers, sometimes receiving half-replies, other times suggesting that I ask easier questions. But the times are such that I have nevertheless decided on putting my questions in public.

It seems to me that we have had no experience whatsoever with a state based on law. In some round-table discussion they spoke about "[a state] half based on law." In the few publications on jurisprudence there is much said about the need to build a state based on law. The question is how?

Here is another consideration. Now, you simply turn green with envy when you read articles on economic topics and economic history. The popularization of this plan has suddenly given us a pleiad of brilliant "orators." What depth of analysis! Such bold explorations! Keen assessments! Bold constructive ideas. Everything is called by its right name. "Unless such-and-such happens..., then there is no point even dreaming about this other thing," "Unless we tear down this thing, we will not be able to build this other thing." I am not being ironical at all.... Fat journals and thin ones, newspapers with entire columns of the most serious research—selling like hotcakes, Xerox copies passing from hand to hand, we discuss things over coffee, we nominate the authors to be delegates to the conference.

But where are the idols among the lawyers? Why is there not just as much bold and thorough legal research? There have not been enough exposures of the lawlessness of the Stalinist era and those which followed. Yet there is only one conclusion that can be drawn from the lawlessness of the past, that the Law must triumph. My question is not about how to complete creation of a state based on law, which has been spoken about in the Theses, but goes only so far as how to begin this most complicated construction. There is no end to the problems, and the lawyers maintain silence about them, or they just mention it in passing: we do, they say, need to build....

Let us speak plainly. In a state based on law legislation expressing the will of the people must reign supreme and triumph. That is what the Theses say. And that sets me to thinking: if legislation reigns supreme and triumphs, then the citizen and the state and the Central Committee of the party must all be subordinate to it.

But let the lawyers respond: Who will lodge a "veto" against a specific decision of the state as represented by the Supreme Soviet or the party as represented by its Central Committee if that decision should undermine the undivided rule of law? Has a name been given, even in theoretical writings, for that body which would be endowed with the power to say: This is not in line with the Constitution, with the norms and principles of law, meet and discuss it once again—is it worth it for Authority to run counter to Law? I do not know what structure that might be or where the limits of its authority are. Perhaps it is not needed at all? We have gotten along

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without it. Yet at the same time up to now we have been talking only about "further strengthening of social legality," and I think this is the first time we have talked about a state based on law. So let us come to an agreement. Dot the i's....

Believe me, there are quite a few questions that crop up. After all, creation of a state based on law in the true sense presupposes renunciation of many accustomed notions, of "it is self-evident," of things that cannot even be thought about. The country's Supreme Court reported in the last session of the USSR Supreme Soviet. Everything seemed to be as it should be: the supreme body of state power, the legislator, elects the members of the Supreme Court and its chairman. All very well. But reporting is envisaged in the regulation of the Supreme Soviet. The Constitution on the other hand states: the court shall be independent and subordinate only to the law. To the law, not to the legislator, not to the body of government, even the highest in the state. A report always means dependence. But in the Constitution it is to be independent. Am I wrong to have my doubts? Probably. But still a state based on law cannot be built, indeed even its very conception cannot be created without reading what the Constitution really says. That is, flatly renounce judgments concerning the formalism of law about "norms enriching life," about what has not been written in the law, but "is clear to any child." Just let us discuss the place of the law and its institutions in a state based on law, and we will be writing on a clean slate.

I am convinced of this: we have no occasion now to speak about the independence of the court, given its dependence upon everyone and everything, which has been touched up only a bit. The Supreme Court would report to the Supreme Soviet.... But under the decree that has been adopted the lower-level courts will also be reporting in sessions of the soviets. And the people's court, we would assume, will be reporting to everyone: to the soviet of people's deputies, to the party raykom, and to the superior court; a work collective can also summon it to report, as can an assembly of citizens by place of residence, while in addition it is supervised by the department of justice—which is a subdivision of the ispolkom administration pure and simple.

Perhaps my judgment is dilettantish, but this is the picture I see. It is not important whether the people's court is elected or appointed, but that it not be called upon to report to anyone, absolutely no one, during its entire term of office. No one! The only monitoring would be the legal evaluation of verdicts of the court of appeals and review court by judicial authorities. The judge receives the highest pay among all lawyers in a region. The financing, the material supply of the court, construction of its building (one of the two or three best buildings in the area), the wages and housing of judges—all of that follows a "dotted line" directly from Moscow, from the state budget. In the end, we have by my count 9,000 courts and 14,000 judges. But they embody the prestige of the State and Authority. (At present, that prestige has

suffered a most outrageous loss.) I am convinced of this: without that "material support at the lower level" there is no occasion to speak about the authority of Law. I remember a case long ago. I was the people's assessor, and a case was to be tried in the field—at a race track. "How do we get there?" I asked the judge. "By No 12 trolleybus," Nina Aleksandrovna replied. I asked the editorial office for two black Volgas. The field session of the court drove up—immediately the announcement was made: "The court has arrived." But would it have arrived by trolleybus?

I obviously have picked on trifles. But then...is it a trifle? The law will hardly triumph completely in the emergency buildings where even certain people's courts in the capital have been accommodated. And what kind of prestige will there be if the poor judge has to do everything but serve the summonses himself? I am not at the moment addressing the supreme power—immediately fit out the court and furnish what it needs, they say. I am rather addressing the community, the best minds—why are we talking about these things in the corridors, as in the past, while everything about particulars is carried in the pages of the newspapers? It is time to draw conclusions and generalizations from those facts.

Incidentally, it cannot be said that we have not generalized at all. We have. And a stereotype of thought has even been developed, which practically comes down to the incantation: we have very good laws, it is just that their execution and those who enforce them are bad, that is the whole trouble. What of it—there is a consoling analysis and a formula for action: change the enforcers. We make that change, and again the same incantation.

It seems to me that there are two reasons why our state has not become a state based on law: the existence of "exceptions to the rule" and the absence of procedures.

The existence of exceptions downgrades the law, which is conceived to be triumphant, to the level of a resounding declaration. But it has been noted long ago: no truth is as beneficial as its appearance is harmful. How many self-serving words have we expended to prove our great triumphs in the domain of workers' rights? Here we have reached the heights. And it is true that the law does proclaim them to be sacred, the courts reinstate half of those discharged by zealous administrators. But we are forgetting here the other "half." Leaving out the plaintiffs who have besieged every possible institution, mainly those in the capital. These people have been altogether deprived of the protection of the courts. The codes, while they have built a wonderful system for guaranteeing worker rights, have made exceptions: they adopted two lists of positions not covered by the law. What exceptions they are! And then charter organizations were added to that: Aeroflot, the railroads, and everything that has its own charter. The idea of the charter was to regulate specific working conditions of a branch. But a cashier, say, from Aeroflot will have no recourse to judicial protection in case of dismissal. The

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charter was conceived as a sublegal act, but in fact it is above the law or at least stands alongside it. The great lawyer Hugo Grotius put it aptly: "War starts when there is no opportunity to resort to a court." And war is what the plaintiffs are waging.

In general, an exception to a rule is an instrument which the bureaucracy has in the realm of the law. A powerful instrument. We recall that Nikita Sergeyevich established the removability of elected officials and proclaimed it in thundering tones, and at the time we wrote in big letters about the triumph of democracy. But in petit we were silent about the "by way of exception" put in parentheses. And what came of the "victory of democracy"?

Judicial statistics have so far hardly been opened at all in our country. Were it made public, how many people are kept in prisons as an exception to the law, I think the figure would be astounding. The maximum period of time for preliminary detention is 9 months by sanction of the General Procurator's Office. People wait years for a verdict. By sanction of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet. I have searched in the law for that right—to extend detention for an indefinite period. I did not find it. I have asked lawyers—and they say that you will not find it. But years of imprisonment without a verdict.... How are you going to square that with a state based on law?

Procedures are the second thing. The Chinese say: "Respect without ritual results in fussiness, caution without ritual results in timidity, boldness without ritual results in disturbances, and directness without ritual results in rudeness." Law, we might add ourselves, without ritual, without procedure, and its actions turn authority into tyranny and lead the citizen into defenselessness.

The procedural law sets down rituals and procedures. It is said that work is now being done on it, it is being improved. How, in what direction, and to what extent are matters of which the public is unaware. And in general there is another question that arises: How is a law itself to be prepared in a state based on law? In what stage is the public to become familiar with it? When the draft is already prepared for discussion in a legislative body? But perhaps it would be worth making it public earlier—when the learned men are only roughing out the draft?

After all, if you go through the Code of Criminal Procedure now, if you look on its articles with a critical eye, beginning with the fact that it regulates the holding of a citizen in custody, a multitude of questions arise. They highlight contradictions, places which are unclear or where things have not been spelled out. If you evaluate what they amount to—they are all to the advantage of authority and to the citizen's detriment. That is, everything the opposite of the way it has to be in a state based on law. One thing I have found gratifying: the top

officers of the Ministry of Internal Affairs, it seems, understand this. Recently, I had the honor to respond to the questions of a large group of investigators who were going through training at the Academy of the Ministry of Internal Affairs. Questions were also answered by General Novikov, chief of the Main Investigation Administration. I was even surprised when he was so sharp in saying to his subordinates in the presence of the press: "You do not know how to abide by the law in doing your jobs; you have become accustomed, once you obtain a faked 'sincere confession' from a person who is already sitting in prison, to backing it up with a bit of dubious evidence and sending the case to the court; and everything there has gotten by; now it will not get by." I think that Vasiliy Georgiyevich will confirm that if anything I have toned his words down.

And this, I repeat, is grafting. But the investigators have become accustomed to such methods because they were allowed to do that by the procedural law, with its ambiguities and unclear passages. Learned legal specialists, when I have raised this topic, have after all begun to gush with articles of the Code of Criminal Procedure: "Look at Article 90, look at 122, look...." I looked, I read, and I was amazed: the procurator, the accuser in the court, is a "principal" in the trial, and yet it is he who oversees the legality of the actions of the court. How is this? Who is going to clear this up?

But it is the Theses of the Central Committee we are talking about, not the standards of criminal procedure. I am drifting off into trifles and details. But after all there are the destinies of people in those "trifles."

It is clear that a state based on law must in its very conception preclude any arbitrariness. It is also clear that the upcoming party conference is not a conference about jurisprudence. And there is hardly anyone today who will say what place the building blocks of the future state based on law will take up in the discussions. But arbitrariness as a phenomenon, I would like to believe, will be given the evaluation it deserves. The bureaucrats do not bury it, they bring it back to life in another form. Saltykov-Shchedrin spoke rather accurately about this in his time: "Arbitrariness...in and of itself has so much about it that is attractive, that it needs no sort of more or less strong motivations from outside to take command of all the actions of a bureaucrat. To whatever extent we might increase the threat of the law prohibiting and punishing arbitrariness, the force of circumstances will always win out, and the bureaucrat, once he starts out on the road of arbitrary actions, will make every effort to undermine the actions of the law and to nullify it."

It is not without benefit to bear this precaution in mind and to work out legal conceptions of the guarantees of democracy and civil rights. And it is with a hope that is fully understandable that we look to the party: it is the initiator of restructuring, it must also be its guarantee.

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But this is perhaps where the most ticklish problem arises. Both the country's Constitution and the CPSU Bylaws state that the party is to operate within the limits of the Constitution. But this provision is too general. The party as such does not appear to step outside those limits. But how about some particular party committee? Or its staff? Is it any secret who is "the first" in the rayon? And what is the meaning of the word "first"? But he, and indeed the entire raykom, is above official authority. He bears no responsibility whatsoever before the law (I am not referring to the personal accountability of that person who is "the first" as a citizen). It never even occurs to anyone to take the secretary of the raykom to court for unlawful instructions on an economic or administrative matter. What is more: we say that expulsion from the party is only an internal party affair in its form, but has serious consequences in civil law. Let us suppose that the chief engineer of a large plant has been expelled from the party for family matters and matters outside the family. Will this specialist remain in his position? I doubt it. But what legal act prescribes that he be discharged? What law protects his employment rights? I do not know the answers. But there are questions. How do the learned men conceive the legal accountability of the bodies of the ruling party for its actions in the economic sphere? Or the sphere of social welfare? Or culture? Let us imagine: we have a constitutional court. Will the decisions of the party that extend outside into what we might call civil circulation come under its jurisdiction?

Obviously, too many questions have been put. I never tried to do this before. But in justice it has for some reason turned out that no one wants to be officially responsible in preliminary procedure: they say, a law will come out, and it will contain the answer. Once I collected the questions scattered through the "juricial dialogues" and sent them to the USSR Ministry of Justice with a single request: Tell the readers where they are right and where they are wrong and what should be done in those respects where they are right. I only asked them to make an evaluation of the problems presented so that I could in turn respond to the readers. I sent in my "request" last year...no, the year before last. So far I have been unable to pass on anything to my readers.

Perhaps there in the department someone gave up in a fit of temper: one person...is putting so many questions that.... I am ready to sacrifice prestige. Only, please, comrade lawyers, give an answer: What kind of socialist state based on law do you see? What kind of blocks and bricks will we be using to put it together? In what way, finally, will the Law pass between Authority and the Citizen? To be honest, this is just as important to us as the reform of prices. As I see it, life has convinced us: without a "mouthful of freedom" there will be no "piece of meat."

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Soviet, Czech Journalists Compare Views on Theses

18000455a Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 21 Jun 88 pp 1,3

[Article under rubric "We Discuss the Theses of the CPSU Central Committee": "The Right of Socialism: Round-Table Discussion Between the Editorial Offices of SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA and the Bratislava PRAVDA"; "Round-table materials were prepared by Arnost Bak and Vladislav Ivanov."]

[Text] An event that will become a very important one not only in the life of Soviet society, but also our entire socialist community, is the 19th CPSU Conference, the preparation for which has already, in and of itself, been a powerful impetus for increasing people's social participation and the critical interpretation of what has been done.

The Theses of the CPSU Central Committee for the 19th All-Union Party Conference which have been proposed as a platform for discussion encompass an entire series of vitally important problems of the day. An extensive and open exchange of opinions developed around the basic principles in this document at a round-table discussion that was recently conducted jointly by the editorial offices of SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA and the organ of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Slovakia, the PRAVDA newspaper.

Comparing Ideas and Interests

In opening the round-table discussion, V. Chikin, editor in chief of SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA, informed the participants of the directions to be taken by the discussion before the conference, which directions were developed on the basis of letters to the editor and statements that authors had made on the pages of the newspaper. Emphasis was made of the intention to carry out consistently the party line aimed at raising the level of political-ideological work and at achieving a deepening of creative discussions dealing with the vital questions of our past and current practice, keeping in mind the fact that the discussions are fruitful only on the soil of socialism and in the name of socialism.

S. Bahar, editor in chief, PRAVDA newspaper, Bratislava. I would like to continue the idea of why the exchange of experience in perestroika is so important for us today. Many of our readers currently are keeping a close watch on the Soviet press and on items published in newspapers and magazines. They are interested not only in those practical steps that you are undertaking in the area of carrying out the economic reform, the further democratization of all aspects of social life, the development of self-government, and other areas of perestroika, but also in the evaluations of the historical past. It is very important that there exists here a fundamental unity of views between all of us. The leaders of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia and the Communist Party of Slovakia, in their statements, have already emphasized

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several times that the critical evaluation of the errors and negative situations in the past does not mean in any way that we are renouncing the past completely. We are proud of the successes that were achieved in the course of the building of socialism and, by subjecting to honest critical analysis the miscalculations, failures, and errors of the past, we clear the road for perestroika and create the conditions to assure that that process develops not to the detriment of socialism, but to its advantage.

Under our conditions, this honest political determination of the essence of the present-day situation is especially important, since there have been attempts made in Czechoslovakia today by various elements from among the inspirers of the 1968-1969 events to speculate on the changes that are being carried out, and they even gone so far as to say that the perestroika that is currently being carried out is the very thing that they had in mind. The meaning of this demagogic method, this kind of ideological forgery, is to conceal the true nature of the process of those years, a process which, from the very beginning, was of a counterrevolutionary nature and was aimed against the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia and against socialism as a social system.

The perestroika concept developed in Czechoslovakia stipulates, first of all, the restructuring of the economic mechanism, the restructuring of the economic system. Simultaneously, on the basis of the economic reform, there has been a process of development of socialist democracy, a process that encompasses all aspects of the life of our society. Its meaning and goal consist in creating, during the course of the perestroika, those conditions under which every person can display himself more completely not only as a participant in production, but also as a citizen in socialist society. Proceeding from the specifics of our political system and the existence of the National Front, we strive to assure a situation in which we can use its opportunities both to unite various social organizations and political parties, and to assure that, through those organizations, all the citizens of our country participate in social life and show themselves to be the responsible owners of the country. Therefore our party is currently re-evaluating the forms and methods of party work and changing its style, striving for a more effective influence upon raising socialist awareness.

V. Ivanov, director of the Institute of Sociological Research, USSR Academy of Sciences, professor, doctor of philosophical sciences. When we began perestroika, we were thinking more about economic, political, and social problems, and considerably less about ideological problems. Meanwhile, life has confronted us with situations that graphically attest to the fact that it is precisely the ideological problems which, in many instances, proved to be poorly developed.

Our Institute of Sociological Research, for that purpose, created a special mechanism for sociologically tracking the rate of perestroika in society according to the monitoring principle, taking the year 1987 as the reference point. We have already conducted two research studies at 120 of the country's largest enterprises.

Analysis of the obtained data has revealed both positive tendencies and alarming situations. It has already been stated that the Theses of the CPSU Central Committee for the 19th All-Union Party Conference note the growing support of perestroika. Actually, it has taken millions of Soviet citizens into its orbit.

But at the same time the research has shown, for example, a certain reduction in the percentage of those who feel that perestroika for our society is necessary and was caused by the objective state of affairs. Whereas in 1987 the share of persons answering affirmatively to that question was 86.4 percent, in 1988 it is 80.6 percent.

It is, as we can see, a small reduction, but nevertheless one can observe it. We explain it by the fact that perestroika affects people and exposes those who do not accept it. On the other hand, in our opinion, this also reflects the fact that our awareness is being freed of unsubstantiated hopes of a rapid success, a more realistic approach is being confirmed, and an understanding of its difficulties and problems is arising.

A. Bak, first deputy editor in chief, PRAVDA newspaper (Bratislava). In Czechoslovakia today the workers are keeping a very careful watch on those social processes that are occurring in the Soviet Union. They are monitoring especially attentively what is being said about democratization and what is being done in this direction. Certain questions arise here. For example, why is it that the Soviet press, television, and radio use the term "democratization" so frequently, but there has been no discussion of the process of the expansion and deepening of socialist democracy, which, politically speaking, is in my opinion more accurate.

V. Ivanov. Without a doubt, when democratization is being discussed, one has in mind, as is emphasized in the Theses of the CPSU Central Committee For the 19th All-Union Party Conference, the reinforcement and development of the absolutely fundamental principles of the socialist state system.

There are also other questions that pertain to the so-called ideological fractionation of the deeds being carried out by us. At the present time, for example, the expression "socialist pluralism" has come into vogue.

Take the economy, for example. For a long time, when speaking about the economic basis, we stated that it develops in the direction of economic homogeneity, and that an increasingly large place is occupied by the nationwide form of property, with which the cooperative-kolkhoz form grows closer together. At the present time we have a new situation: the economic basis is becoming more diverse, new forms of the ownership of property are appearing, as well as new forms of management and new forms of property itself. That is, the element of the pluralistic nature finds obvious expression in the economy.

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Let us turn now to the state of the social environment. New social groups that express their own interests have been appearing. Consequently, here too, in the social environment, we have an increase in the pluralistic nature.

It is a question of the pluralism of ideas, the struggle of opinions. There exists a Leninist principle, the essence of which can be summarized by stating that, without ideas, no movement, including the workers' movement, is possible. This line is being carried out precisely at the present time. It is not accidental that Mikhail Sergeyevich has stated that our country has become a large club for discussions. But this, naturally, creates a new situation. It is not simply that differences in views have been revealed. The most genuine struggle of ideas is in progress.

F. Gebhardt, doctor of pedagogical sciences, director of the Political School of the Western Slovakia Regional Committee of the Communist Party of Slovakia. At one time we felt that we are educating the communist man if he undergoes instruction by way of the system of communist education, not considering that many factors exert an effect upon a person's education or that the assertion of new thinking does not occur in just one day. In order for people to perceive the ideas of perestroika, they must be prepared for that ideologically, psychologically, and practically.

V. Vanslov, active member of the USSR Academy of Arts, professor. I would like to direct attention to two formulations which have been encountered recently in our press. On the one hand we say that the result and purpose of perestroika, and our orientation marker in the process of the revolutionary renovation of society, must be the new appearance of socialism. On the other hand, we say at the same time that we are dealing with the restoration of the Leninist appearance of socialism.

It seems to me that the combination of these two formulations is very important. They do not contradict one another, but, rather, they are linked dialectically. Because, when we speak about the new appearance of socialism, we are interested not in general with something that is new and abstract. It is simultaneously both the use of all that is the best, that has been developed during the years of the building of socialism, and the restoration of Leninist principles and Leninist theory.

V. Ivanov. This is precisely one of the graphic examples of how acutely the situation pertains today to the questions of the ideological interpretation of the new situations. If we can continue the discussion about pluralism, I would like to touch upon such an additional concept as "socialist political pluralism." Historically it has developed that in our country there is a one-party political system. Therefore, if one understands political pluralism as the multiversion nature of decisions being made, it would then seem that this term is completely proper. Recently, among the recommendations to the 19th Party

Conference I read the desire of one of the authors to discuss at congresses and conferences not just one version of a decision, but several of them. What is bad for socialism about this proposal? Or the multimandate system of elections to soviets is also an element of pluralism. But the competitive system of elections of secretaries of raykoms, gorkoms, obkoms, and the Central Committees of the union republics! There must not always be just one candidate for the position of administrator. This also is an element of pluralism.

Question from the floor. Of course, it would be ridiculous now to pose the question of the rebirth of any parties, of any leftist Social Revolutionaries or Mensheviks. But new social organizations are indeed arising—organizations of veterans, of women, of creative workers. And they receive the right of legislative initiative. But if the organizations have the right of legislative initiative, then their interests can also collide. Why not, if we are speaking of political pluralism, establish the following procedure: the veterans society, for example, proposes one alternative of the resolution of a social question, and another organization proposes its plan. That would be a real pluralism of opinions.

V. Ivanov. I do not see anything unnatural in that approach.

F. Gebhardt. In my view, one of the reasons for the large mistakes that we made in the past in Czechoslovakia lies in the fact that we were not specific. We worked with general concepts. As a result, it turned out that in the overall plan everything was good, but in specific situations, in the specific practical life, we made mistakes.

The leading role of the party in the life of our countries is generally acknowledged. But are we really to believe that in the past, in Czechoslovakia, we did not have any people who, sharing and defending that principle, nevertheless committed serious errors in carrying it out in practice? The problem, it would seem is in the correct treatment of the concept of the leading role of the party. It is no accident that the Theses of the CPSU Central Committee to the 19th All-Union Party Conference pose a question that, in the light of perestroika, the party's role appears as the leading and organizing force in Soviet society.

There exists a precise Leninist principle concerning the uniting of theory and practice. Referring back to our country's past, I ask myself the question: what was the very first cause of the difficulties that have arisen—miscalculations in theory or in practice? Or could it be that we have replaced the methodology of carrying out that principle? One thing is completely obvious—we did not teach people how to think. They were good at carrying out orders, but they were not independent people. I mention this because in our practice we constantly encounter the repetition of these situations, with the need to evaluate events of the past. There are people who devoted all their life to the building of socialism. We

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cannot tell them that they worked poorly all their life, we cannot cross out their life. Therefore it is definitely necessary first to evaluate the percentage of errors in theory and in practice.

V. Ivanov. I agree with you. But I want nevertheless to complete the idea of socialist pluralism. The complication of the social situation that we have already mentioned inevitably speaks to the complication of the ideological problems. Once new social groups and new interests arise, there is no need to think that they will be coordinated very rapidly, that it will be possible to remove all the problems immediately. Take the situation with the development of the cooperative movement. It has been proceeding with difficult, it does not always meet the understanding or support on the part of the masses, because at time the members of the cooperative are motivated by a striving for profit. And although these mercenary aspirations by no means manifest themselves always, nevertheless people transfer their natural irritation to the entire cooperative movement.

Question from the floor. But this situation is temporary. Sooner or later an evolution in views must occur.

V. Ivanov. I agree. It will occur, and I think that it will be in a positive direction. Our research indicates that, as the process of perestroika develops, an increase in the number of such situations of social tension that occur is possible. For the time being, this is only a hypothesis, but there are grounds for making it.

Ye. Yamburg, candidate of pedagogical sciences, director of School No. 109 (Moscow). There is yet another reason why the social tension, as you say, will increase—we are not accustomed to living democratically, we simply have not yet developed those traditions. I have the occasion rather frequently to be present at meetings with soviet deputies, and frequently you can see how the most real group aspirations are presented as nationwide interests. In our rayon, because of such conflicts, the construction of several very necessary construction projects has been stopped. How does one make a decision in such situations? We have not yet learned how to make intelligent compromises.

Where, then, is the way out? The school establishes the habit of living democratically. It seems that we have recently forgotten a very wise Leninist idea: if the school system changes, the way of thinking will change. Of course, this is not a simple process, and we will not be able to obtain a social result immediately. But if one thinks seriously about the future, it is precisely the school system to which special attention should be devoted now.

V. Ivanov. In the course of our research we ascertained what causes, in the opinion of workers and specialists, have been hindering the perestroika. The ones that have been mentioned most frequently recently are the resistance of the administrative apparatus. In 1987 that

factor was indicated by 6.3 percent of the 11,000 persons surveyed. But in 1988 the figure has already risen to 22 percent. And this is no accident, because people see that this group of—as they call it—the production-administrative apparatus does not want to give up its status, its social role, its privileges, and they can see that this group has been hindering perestroika. This fact has already become public knowledge.

Question from the floor. It may be that there is a certain social insight behind this, since the administrative apparatus has been preserved in the form in which it used to exist. But people have begun to analyze more critically the reasons for the difficulties.

V. Ivanov. Yes, this also is important. But the very fact of the resistance on the part of the administrative apparatus exists. In addition, a definite number of people are not firmly convinced about the irreversibility of perestroika, and this results in their wait-and-see position; manifestations of a formal bureaucratic approach have already occurred in the course of carrying out economic changes, for example, in implementing the Law Governing the State Enterprise. All these things constitute real sore spots in our life today.

Getting Free of the Rust of Bureaucratism

Ye. Yamburg. The press has been writing a lot about the resistance being shown by the bureaucratic apparatus, and its opposition to the innovations. But doesn't it happen that, when we speak of bureaucratism and the bureaucratic apparatus as the chief enemy of perestroika, we forget about a second aspect of the question—the psychological mood of people themselves, the well-entrenched philosophy that manifests itself in the habits of obediently executing only what one is ordered to, of doing only just so much and not a gram more, of being guided by the frequently encountered rule—our job is a small one, so let the boss get the headache. Can it be that, under the influence exerted by the press, we are talking too much about the bureaucratic apparatus and too little about the psychology that has formed over the period of years and that currently is hindering us no less than the bureaucratic impediments?

V. Ivanov. What can be said in this regard? There exist objective facts which, irrespective of the statements made by the press, describe a completely definite picture. At the present time the administrative sphere in our country employs 18 million persons. According to computations made by specialists, half of them could be transferred painlessly to other spheres of our national economy. However, it must be taken into consideration that behind that arithmetic stand living, specific people.

Perestroika affects not only administrators, but also ordinary workers, and primarily places in a complicated situation the relatively unskilled workers and the people who do not want to work in any real way. In this instance their "interests" coincide with the position of the bureaucratic apparatus.

In our research we noted the following tendency: the lack of desire of some of the cadres to carry out the perestroika in conformity with its true goals and tasks, the formal execution of the planned measures, and sometimes their direct discreditation. Everyone knows, for example, what an emphasis is placed on introducing the new system for payment of labor. But then there is the data about what evaluation is made of the effectiveness of the measures to improve the payment of labor and the influence of those measures upon the workers' self-interestedness. "These measures are very effective!" was the conclusion made in 1987 by 9 percent of the persons surveyed, but in 1988 that was the feeling of 15 percent of the persons included in the research. There has been a definite shift, but it does not evoke any special optimism, since other figures exist simultaneously: whereas in 1987 only 15 percent of the persons surveyed stated that "their effectiveness is insignificant," by 1988 that figure was already 29 percent. In response to the question "Have the changes worsened the situation?", in 1987 an affirmative reply was given by 2.5 percent, but in 1988 by 13.9 percent.

N. Travkin, deputy chief of the Main Administration for Construction in Moscow Oblast, Hero of Socialist Labor. But let's hang onto the bureaucracy. We represent the bureaucrat as though he is some kind of single monster, but we cannot say where he is sitting or operating. For some reason, everyone sees the bureaucrat only above himself. I would like to point this out by using a specific example from the construction trust.

How does the trust administrator or any worker reason? The bureaucrat sits in the ministry, the administrator states. The worker will say that bureaucrats are sitting in the trust, in the administration, but will also put the blame on the ministry because the press has suggested that address.

But the ministry, within itself, does not see any bureaucracy at all. Its workers feel that the bureaucrats have settled in at Gosplan. And so on. But bureaucratism is dangerous in that it creeps everywhere, from top to bottom.

What prevents the collective at any plant, any construction administration, any farm to reveal the bureaucrats? Do the rights to do this exist? Yes, they do. But here is the paradox: the rights and opportunities exist, but no one can take advantage of them. And they never will if the labor collectives have not been linked up to this. What, for example, guaranteed our success? The fact that the entire collective was linked up to the administration of production, and responsibility for the work results was placed upon them in a realistic manner. And once responsibility exists, people begin instantaneously to use the rights granted to them. Everything is logical: the enterprise has a council of the labor collective. The council can give commands, but it is also responsible for its actions.

F. Gebhardt. I would also like to touch upon the problem of bureaucracy. The bureaucrat is not a profession. It is an attitude toward labor. Every person, regardless of the position that he occupies, can become a bureaucrat. That depends upon his attitude to the tasks that have been set, and especially upon the methods of resolving those tasks. It is not by accident that among the chief obstacles to perestroika we mention the formal-bureaucratic methods, since they distort and replace the essence of the glorious good undertakings. Therefore I entirely support the idea that, for waging a successful struggle against bureaucratism as a phenomenon, we must analyze well what is standing behind it, the forms in which it manifests itself, how it camouflages itself, concealing itself, for example, by such completely justified requirements as state discipline and socialist legality. And this analytical work is necessary not only in this instance.

Today at our round-table we have been talking a lot about democracy and democratization, in which, completely correctly, we see one of the effective means of combating bureaucratic attitudes to the job at hand. But for the time being the question is being posed in a general form. How will democratization manifest itself in the specific conditions of the Soviet Union and Czechoslovakia? It is important to clarify this, because both general underlying principles and specific peculiarities exist here.

In the course of the discussion, mention has already been made of the difficulties encountered by perestroika both in our country and in Czechoslovakia. A certain passivity, like the wait-and-see position, is linked with the fact that many people have not yet fully realized the essence of the perestroika. Therefore, for the time being, a structure of administration under the conditions of perestroika has not yet been formed, and it is necessary constantly to explain the essence of the processes that are occurring. And to be in no hurry to make conclusions. For example, in Czechoslovakia the enterprises are operating under the conditions of an experiment. But the entire administrative superstructure has proven to be unchanged. Consequently, one cannot give any objective evaluation to the experiment. It will take two or three years before we can say definitely whether it was bad or good. We must not repeat the old mistakes. We must remember that perestroika is a long-term process and it must be accompanied by the patient educating of people.

Back in Czechoslovakia, for example, we devote serious attention to the promising leaders of the councils of labor collectives, seeing in them the future leaders who have graduated from the school of practice, and striving for a situation in which the Communist Party members serve as an example of democratic spirit and a business-like attitude. Simultaneously we feel that it is also very important to train the economic managers for the work under the new conditions. I agree completely with Nikolay Travkin: it is not enough to give power to people. It is necessary for those people to understand them and to be able to use them.

Without a change in the way of thinking, without a new way of thinking, it will be impossible to achieve success in economic reform. The guarantee of the success of perestroyka and its irreversibility is the changes in the entire life of society. And primarily the changes in the party itself, in the work style and methods, in the carrying out of the guiding role of the party under the new conditions. Proceeding from the concept of perestroyka that was developed in our country, and keeping in mind all the spheres in the life of society, the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia has been gradually carrying out changes in the planned directions. At such time we refer to the experience of the CPSU, to the experience of the reforms in all the socialist countries, inasmuch as the generalization of that experience, with a consideration of the specific conditions of every country, makes it possible to advance the cause of perestroyka more successfully.

N. Travkin. What has perestroyka given and what will it give, and how is it being received by the workers? I do not agree with the sociologists' conclusions. This is a local opinion. Why do I disagree? Everyone has risen against the administrative apparatus, but even in the administrative apparatus it is necessary to see who is who. I have already said, and I want to repeat, that we make judgments concerning the existence of opponents of perestroyka more on the basis of what we read on the pages of the press, but we do not see the bureaucrat who is within ourselves or who is standing alongside of us. I can base myself on the opinion of those workers with whom I work. The bulk of the workers not only support perestroyka, but it has also been a stage that they have suffered through. I am absolutely sick of the claptrap from the rostrum to the effect that we are going to outdistance everyone, when things have been getting worse and worse with every passing year.

I completely support Comrade Gebhardt. He has stated correctly that we must begin with the party. And, properly speaking, that is what is happening—our party began perestroyka with itself.

E. Sedlak, member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Slovakia, chairman of Progress Kolkhoz, member of the Agricultural Academy of the Czechoslovakian Socialist Republic. I would like to say a few words to supplement that which has currently engendered a lively discussion. I do not want to say anything about the administrative apparatus, since Comrade Travkin is right when he says that the administrative apparatus includes not only opponents of perestroyka, but I would like to express my personal opinion. I feel that the smaller that apparatus, the better, the more concretely, and the more directly it will operate.

Planning Independence

V. Ivanchenko, doctor of economic sciences, professor. I would like to direct attention to yet another very serious question that has arisen in the course of preparation for

the 19th Party Conference—the guarantees of the irreversibility of the perestroyka process, and the overcoming of doubts as to whether we will return to our old way of doing things. Those doubts actually exist, inasmuch as examples of this exist in the past: the sovnarkhozes, after which we returned to the branch system; the 1965 reform, which at first yielded rather good results, but which subsequently was stifled, and everything ended with us practically returning to the old system. We must learn a lesson from that experience, so that today's process can become truly irreversible. My conviction that it can become irreversible is based on two circumstances.

First, the integrity of the perestroyka concept itself. It did not exist during the period of the sovnarkhozes, or in 1965, or in 1979. That integrity also manifests itself in the reflection of objective regularities, in the taking into consideration of the real tendencies in the development of productive forces.

Secondly, the inclusion of the masses. It has been stated outright that the revolutionary perestroyka of the economy is the basis of implementing the concept adopted by the party, and that its implementation is a job for the broad masses. It is very important for the perestroyka (this has also been attested to by the sociological research mentioned above) to receive greater and greater support among the people. I think that the 19th Party Conference, on the basis of the discussion, will find new forms for including the workers among the champions of real perestroyka.

I must say that during past years a number of methods have been developed for inhibiting progressive ideas, and we must keep them in mind when we engage in the implementation of the planned program. They include all kinds of foot-dragging in the making of decisions until the five-year plan has been approved; the material-technical support of innovation at the expense of the residual resources; and other methods.

My recommendation to the party conference is to stipulate a fundamental restructuring of the planning system, and the actual guaranteeing of its democratization. At the present time this is being hindered by the fact that the planning agencies, beginning with USSR Gosplan, act primarily in the role of the distributors of resources. This is its current, rather than main, job, but it holds onto it like the devil holds onto a sinner's soul. However many attempts are made to remove those functions, to free Gosplan of current problems, the resistance put up by the apparatus always arises. And it is understandable why it does. As soon as the planning agencies are deprived of that function, people immediately cease coming to them with cap in hand. They are transformed into planning workers in the true sense of that concept. It seems to me that this is a very important problem: the correct understanding of the role of centralism in the system of administration and the role of Gosplan in implementing that centralism.

Statement from the floor. Incidentally, it was precisely in this role that Gosplan acted when the first five-year plan was being developed.

V. Ivanchenko. And an excellent plan was developed, a plan that contained a social approach, a class approach, and contained policy and sociology, and completely dependent commodity-monetary relations, rather than simply the distribution of resources.

A. Bak. In order to judge the occurring processes objectively, it is necessary for us to know what hopes the workers are placing on perestroika, what they are expecting from it. We have already been convinced several times that the workers must have a self-interest in the final result of their labor. Otherwise the present-day perestroika will encounter the same "success" of the preceding restructuring, which were well planned but which, in the final analysis, did not resolve anything.

It would seem that we ought to concentrate more of our attention on creating the conditions that assure that our socialist democracy has a material basis in the economy. Without a firm economic base, it will be complicated to develop the democratic principles of socialism in practice. It seems to me that today this relationship between democracy and its economic base is still being emphasized insufficiently, including in the Soviet press.

In the very process of the economic perestroika, democratization, it seems to me, also must manifest itself primarily in the expanded and deepened participation of the collectives in the determination of the future prospects, in the search for new ways to increase the effectiveness of production. We have said that one of the reasons for many difficulties is the expenditure nature of the economy. Well, then, what should we do in the future? The enterprise continues to work, it fulfills the plan by orienting itself basically on the old parameters. Consequently, the expenditure mechanism continues to operate. That is what is happening in our country, and it is also happening in ours. Why? In the broad discussion we sometimes forget the creation of the real conditions for the workers' participation in direct administration both by way of their elected deputies and plant councils, and by way of their material self-interestedness in the final results of the collective labor. Democracy in the sphere of production continues to manifest itself more on the declarative level. If we continue to engage—as we have engaged up to now—only in discussions of "pure" policy, there will be no real democracy at all, and we will be unable to resolve purposefully the problems that we have already encountered in the previous economic reforms.

V. Ivanchenko. You have correctly remarked that there will be no perestroika unless people have an economic interest in the final results. Herein, incidentally, lies the most important difference in the present reform in the economy. When we say that the existing system of administering the economy does not suit us, we see its

basic flaw precisely in the fact that that system does not guarantee that every worker knows the economic result of his labor and has a self-interest in it.

Actually, how can an enterprise collective be drawn into more active participation? How can it be made a real participant in the economic relations, so that it knows that it is truly the owner, that the government has entrusted definite resources to it, that it has accepted a contract and must use those resources effectively and have a definite share of the resulting income.

Question from the floor. But don't we develop in this way the individualistic tendencies to the detriment of the collectivistic ones?

V. Ivanchenko. In this matter there is a difference in our approaches. That contract, that independence, is carried out, first of all, in a system of social ownership of the means of production; and secondly, in a system of centralized regulation of all relations, beginning with the structure of proportions and ending with the economic regulators. The fundamental new feature in the economic mechanism that we are introducing is complete cost accountability and self-financing. The enterprise becomes a real participant in the process of centralized planning.

Administering the Development of Perestroika

J. Luptak, leader of a brigade of workers operating under a system of cost accountability (Banská Bystrica). I am a construction worker. For several years I have been in charge of a collective where we use the experience of the brigade contract, which we borrowed directly from the Moscow and Belorussian construction workers. The brigade contract has enabled us to achieve excellent results—for example, an almost 100-percent increase in labor productivity, the guarantee of quality for one and a half years, which stipulates the unpaid correction of jobs requiring additional work, and the reduction of construction periods. As compared with the other brigades in our construction organization that do not operate on the basis of cost accountability, we expend for the construction of a standard building half the time, and have approximately the same reduction in expenditures. But at the same time we earn more than the workers who do not operate on the basis of cost accountability, and who cost the enterprise and the state more money and incur losses.

Nevertheless our experience has not been spreading the way one would want, even at our enterprise, not to mention the republic. It has not been spreading broadly everywhere, as is required by the government, although that task was assigned by the 17th Congress of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia. Therefore I agree completely with what was said here about bureaucratism and its carriers. I will go home convinced that our collective will also have to fight against those who "do not understand" cost accountability. We have to go into

action Travkin-style. I would like to hear from Comrade Travkin what results perestroyka at enterprises has brought under the conditions of your association. And also, how is perestroyka being perceived by the workers at the enterprises?

N. Travkin. I think it would be more correct to speak not about the results of perestroyka (which have already been mentioned), but about some specific steps that we have taken earlier than anyone else. I shall begin with the economic councils, which are equivalent to the councils of labor collectives that we were the first to begin to create.

What have they yielded? Our workers feel that they are the owners. How? First, by means of their earnings. I'll put it this way: we can conduct agitation aimed at distant goals, we can describe the most optimistic prospects. But if our agitation is not accompanied by an increase in earnings, then subsequently the path will become twisting. Our earnings have increased an average of 20 percent. Moreover, and it is also important to note this, the earnings did not increase more rapidly than labor productivity. There has been a reduction in poor management procedures, and an increase in responsibility. This has made it possible to introduce the economic council.

At first, when that council is created, it is difficult to expect any special results. The administrators or workers sit down at the table. At first the workers do not say anything. Whatever the chief tells them, they do. But two or three months go by, and then every participant in the council is already capable of planning various steps, of discussing the situation, and it begins to manage the brigade.

This is the first stage. This is democratization not only of production, but the democratization of social life in production itself. Completely different interrelationships with the trade unions and with management arise. Everything fits into place.

The next stage is complete cost accountability. The councils can be created at any enterprise, whether or not it is operating on a cost-accountability basis. But when the people make a decision that is not based on the results of their labor, but on the basis of how much subsidy they can get from the state budget or what they can get from the top, what results is democracy in dividing nobody's pie. With the introduction of cost accountability, everyone acquires vital positions. If people have earned money by joint efforts, the distribution should also be made jointly.

P. Ryabtsov, director of the Sovkhoz imeni V. I. Lenin (Moscow Oblast). It seems to me that recently we and the press have been carried away by general discussions about perestroyka, and we have been thinking less about the practical need to administer the perestroyka. I would like to explain my thought by giving an example. The

age-old question of spare parts. A worker asks me, as the sovkhoz director, why there are no spare parts. I answer that things are difficult in the government. But is that really the answer? It is simply that the government does not have a person who could say why we need to have 300,000 Belarus tractors, but give us spare parts for only 50,000. Why have we been discussing this problem for years when, I repeat, the problem can be resolved within the confines of those resources that we have at our disposal. And this is not simply an economic question. It also has a very serious political aspect. People lose faith in the contract, in cost accountability, and that very social tension that was mentioned here begins to develop. The people in every labor collective begin to seek illegal ways out, including the unofficial market.

E. Sedlak. I would like to say something about two questions. First, the relationship between word and deed, because in our country and in yours, in the past, a rather large number of correct decisions were made. The entire misfortune was that they were not reinforced by practical work.

I think that at the present time perestroyka, in addition to the innovations that it brings, contains much that is good and that was born years ago. I am speaking about this because it is important for us now to be objective, not to lose that experience that has already been accumulated, but, on the contrary, to enrich it, using the new conditions and opportunities.

We should not forget that the expansion and deepening of socialist democracy is not a goal in itself, but must also create favorable conditions for the economy support of perestroyka. The carrying out of cost accountability is an objective factor in perestroyka, and I would say the determining factor, which at first we did not understand and therefore we did not want to give it its due. To this very day we have not corrected the situation in this regard and this, in particular, has been inhibiting the development of direct production ties; for example, this has been very strongly felt in the relations between our cooperative and the kolkhozes in friendly Saratov Oblast. On the basis of treaties between our governments dealing with direct production relations, we must achieve a situation in which both partners have a realistic and equal self-interestedness in cooperation and its results. It must be understood that the cooperative system can arise and develop only on the basis of the development of cost-accountability relations.

The problem of self-interestedness in perestroyka, it seems to me, persistently requires the most rapid conversion of the basic relations in the national economy to economic contractual relations. On an economic basis it is possible to achieve mutual understanding more rapidly. In order for this to be a reality, our words and pledges in the contracts must be converted into specific affairs.

O. Pletnev, first secretary of the Staritskiy Rayon Committee of the CPSU, delegate to the 19th Party Conference. I am delighted that the people who have spoken in today's discussion have emphasized the guiding role of the party in the process of perestroyka. Unfortunately, that idea has not been receiving sufficient reflection.

Please do not think that I am expressing the grievance of a rayon worker. In that instance the question ought not to be brought up. What disturbs me is something else—I can discern a certain tendency: at the present strained moment the entire responsibility for the shortcomings is being shifted to the local party and soviet agencies. The attitude is: we have given back everything to you, now you analyze everything. Meanwhile we'll keep watching and keep for ourselves the right not only to criticize, but also to tear your head off. Are we really to take this seriously?

Of course, there have been mistakes and serious shortcomings in our work, and we need help. But, when they speak about the local party agencies, I would like the central press to point out more objectively and more realistically how things stand.

The report on this meeting, which was organized by the editorial offices of the two fraternal newspapers, by no means touched upon all the aspects of the self-interested discussion. From among the large number of questions that were raised, the report has dealt with the most topical and most serious problems, which will be the object of discussion at the 19th All-Union Party Conference and, judging by the letters to the editor of SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA and the Bratislava PRAVDA, are of the greatest interest to the readers. The chief result of the round-table discussion has been the specific judgments and opinions, the practical proposals, the self-interested, comradely discussion of what has already been done in our countries to assure the irreversibility of the process of perestroyka and primarily what still will have to be done, what aspects require attention, and what problems will have to be thought about very seriously in order to assure the irreversibility of the process of perestroyka in the interests of the more complete revelation of its tremendous inner possibilities.

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A. Bovin Opposes Third Term, Party Secrecy
PM2206155 Moscow SOVETSKAYA KULTURA
in Russian 23 Jun 88 p 3

[Article by A. Bovin, CPSU member since 1952: "Two Opinions"]

[Text] The CPSU Central Committee Theses for the 19th All-Union Party Conference offer proper food for thought and generate an active desire to speak out.

I want to dwell on two questions.

The Theses propose that the term of office in all elected party and state positions be limited to two consecutive terms (10 years). We have been waiting for this a long time. But right away there follows a reservation. Election to a third term is possible, provided three-fourths of members of the party committee (or soviet) vote in a secret ballot in favor of a preliminary decision to allow the candidacy for election.

I am most profoundly convinced that to accept this reservation would mean to eliminate with our own hands one of the most important guarantees of the irreversibility of restructuring. Nobody can give us assurances that no party committee (or soviet) would produce a united and cohesive collective (not just three-fourths, but even four-fifths) which would, in total "secrecy," adopt the necessary and previously prepared "preliminary decision." Even if there were only a minuscule chance of events taking such a turn (and it is far from "minuscule" in reality), we must resolutely protect ourselves and do away with all reservations.

Another, and by no means unimportant topic also concerns reservations. The Theses correctly point out that an official of management organs subordinate to a soviet cannot be simultaneously a deputy of that soviet. This rule is planned to extend to members of republic councils of ministers and, "with rare exceptions," to members of the union government. I take the liberty to remark that the term "rare" has no legal meaning. While 10 "rare" cases may produce 1 "exception," 100 "rare" cases could produce 10 "exceptions." And so on. But even this is not the point. There is no need for any exceptions. Have we learned nothing from the bitter experience of the past?

Generally speaking, let us struggle for democracy without reservations, for democracy without exceptions.

It is impossible not to back the criticism of unjustified secrecy in party life, which is contained in the Theses.

In my view, however, the question must be raised on a much broader basis. The mania of secrecy from which we suffer is incompatible with civilized society. We make secrets of matters which can be found in open publications in any other state. For example, just try to address the Committee for Foreign Economic Ties to find out how much grain we bought from the United States and how much it cost us. Try to find out from the Peace Foundation what it has at its disposal. Try to explain the dynamics of industrial injuries or, say, suicide in our country.... I can suggest such hopeless "tries" by the hundred.

It is paradoxical and sad that every so often we "classify" and conceal information not from those who wish us ill, but from our own people.

But let us get back to party affairs.

On one and the same day, Central Committee plenums of the Azerbaijan and Armenian Communist Parties dismissed K. Bagirov and K. Demirchyan from office "for health reasons." I do not know who specifically defined the degree of "glasnost" in this case. But I am convinced that a mistake was made. Because the more such "secrets" there are, the less trust will there be in the party and in restructuring. There is no room here for any smooth and streamlined phraseology. It is necessary to speak harshly. To demand correction of "mistakes" and punishment of "culprits."

"Unjustified secrecy" applies not only to facts and events, not only to decisions and paperwork, but also to people. Not so long ago, while speaking in Leningrad, I was handed a note: "Tell us, please, about the political views of Dukakis, Najibullah, and Solovyev." Somewhat amazed by this selection, I decided to find out which Solovyev they meant—Sergey Mikhaylovich or Vladimir Sergeyevich. The audience laughed. Yuri Filippovich, they explained.

We all probably know more about Reagan or Thatcher, about Mitterand or Arafat, than about members and candidate members of the Politburo or secretaries of the CPSU Central Committee. What has happened to democracy? People who are entrusted to lead the party and elaborate the strategy of our society's development. And people want to know for what services they have been promoted to such responsible positions, how do they differ from other comrades, how do they exercise leadership, what do they think about the most important problems of restructuring, what is the standard of their general culture, what are their interests, and so on and so forth.

I have a simple idea. The party leadership must not be anonymous. Participation in "live" television broadcasts, articles in newspapers and journals (preferably written by the authors themselves), visits to party organizations, speeches "without notes"—all this would help to get rid of the "depersonalization" that is firmly rooted in the party. Especially now, when we do have an example. A major role in this could be played by regular press conferences with leading party figures taking part.

It is also worth giving attention to the repeatedly expressed proposal that sessions of party committees, from raykom to Central Committee level, be made public [sdelat glasnymi]. This means that newspaper, television, and radio correspondents would have the right to attend sessions. This means that stenographic records of sessions must be published and, in any case, every Communist must have the right to see the stenographic record for himself. This means that items like "At the CPSU Central Committee Politburo" (and similar ones at rayon and oblast level) must be much more specific, informative, and meaningful.

More light! This is what Lenin taught us.

Moscow Party School Officials Assess Need To Democratize Party

PM2706103 Moscow SOVETSKAYA KULTURA
in Russian 23 Jun 88 p 3

[L. Semina account of discussion with Candidate of Philosophical Sciences V. Shostakovskiy, rector of the Moscow Higher Party School, and Doctor of Historical Sciences V. Zhukov, head of the Moscow Higher Party School Party Building Department, under the rubric "19th All-Union Conference: Between the Lines of the CPSU Central Committee Theses": "Democratization of the Party"; date and place of discussion not given—boldface as published; first paragraph is SOVETSKAYA KULTURA introduction]

[Text] The CPSU Central Committee Theses are discussed by Candidate of Philosophical Sciences V. Shostakovskiy, rector of the Moscow Higher Party School and delegate to the 19th all-union party conference, and Doctor of Historical Sciences V. Zhukov, head of the Moscow Higher Party School Party Building Department.

Are We Returning to Political Debate?

Correspondent: The party Central Committee offered the Theses as a platform for debate.

I have heard various assessments of the Theses—from extremely enthusiastic to highly skeptical. But the fact that this document essentially restores the Leninist principle of freedom of political debate within the party is of unquestionable historical importance. Or am I exaggerating?

V. Shostakovskiy: I do not think you are. Pluralism of opinion and open comparison and a certain demarcation of ideas and interests are already a reality of restructuring. The restoration of Lenin's concept of socialist pluralism, which also implies the need for freedom of political debate, is a pressing social requirement. The Theses impart purposefulness and organizational completeness to this process. A political criterion of socialist pluralism has been formulated for the first time in living memory: Any social activity conducted within the framework of the constitution and not contrary to the interests of the Soviet socialist society's development deserves recognition.

Correspondent: Does this mean that the emergence of some kind of opposition is possible? At a recent session of one of the self-motivated sociopolitical clubs, I heard it said that no genuine democratization of political life will take place without it....

V. Zhukov: The emergence of any party, including an opposition party, is conditioned by certain economic conditions and sociopolitical needs. I think we have a party that is capable of expressing the people's interests and that has proved this throughout its history; there are

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no objective preconditions for the emergence of a new party, and it would be wasteful as far as society was concerned to create some new formation to promote the selfish ambitions of a certain circle of persons.

V. Shostakovskiy: It seems to me that we ourselves are to blame for the fact that some people have developed the idea of the need for a special opposition party: Party organizations have partly lost the richest traditions of critical self-monitoring elaborated by Bolshevism. The broad and free debates of the past have died down, and Lenin's idea of universal monitoring from below, in its most diverse forms, has been forgotten. We have adopted just one of its varieties—the monitoring of execution of decisions adopted by leading party organs, in other words, monitoring used as a departmental instrument by the party apparatus. Universal monitoring, which is capable of cleansing the party of bureaucratism and red tape, started losing its constructive orientation from the start of the period when the personality cult began to take shape and ceased to keep a critical eye on the elaboration of ways and means of implementing party policy.

Correspondent: The idea of a Central Control Commission as an organ of our party of equal status with the Central Committee is now once more gaining growing support. How realistic is this: The existence alongside the Politburo, for example, of an institution to which the Politburo would be in some respects accountable?

V. Shostakovskiy: The revival of Lenin's concept of universal monitoring is, in my view, a necessary component of the reform of the political system. It will be realistic provided the following mandatory conditions are observed: First, that the Party Control Committee is elected by the congress and is accountable to it, in other words to the entire party, and, second, that the members of the Central Control Commission, as the very purpose of such a commission presupposes, participate in the work of the Politburo and the Central Committee Secretariat.

Correspondent: The Theses put forward the proposal to create a single organ for monitoring and auditing work elected by the congress on the basis of the CPSU Central Auditing Commission and the CPSU Central Committee Party Control Committee. But would such an organ be in a position to uphold its own point of view?

V. Shostakovskiy: The Central Committee stresses in the Theses the immediacy of the task of creating political mechanisms and guarantees precluding any future possibilities of violating Leninist principles. Removing party control from direct leadership by the party committee creates promising preconditions in this regard. At the same time, it is important to bear in mind that even monitoring and auditing organs could become excessively bureaucratized if their creation turns into a goal in itself.

The party's ability to monitor itself and to critically analyze its actions still depends primarily on the state of intraparty relations, on how fully the principle of democratic centralism, collectiveness, collegiality in work, and glasnost is applied in its activity. There is not and there cannot be any single means, whether a Central Control Commission or free debate, which would immediately and completely rid the party and society of any past defects.

Correspondent: You must agree, however, that there can be no proper democratization of the party without these pressing changes.... It is not for nothing that all participants in the debate on the theses take a positive attitude toward the procedure for discussing issues in the Central Committee envisaged by restructuring, toward the introduction of direct secret ballots, and toward the declassification of party life, in other words, toward measures that would help overcome leading personnel's loss of touch with the broad masses and would really guarantee the rank and file Communists' right to participate in the elaboration of policy. Freedom of debate and pluralism of opinion, if applied fully rather than in a halfhearted way, would help democratic centralism gain its true, dialectical form whereby centralism acts as a regulator of democracy and democracy is the source and embodiment of centralism.

V. Shostakovskiy: The establishment of real pluralism is a contradictory process. Restructuring shows that each subsequent step in society's spiritual emancipation does not follow automatically; it is fraught with its own peaks and its own crises. Here it is important to proceed from the premise that democratization processes in our country occur in a socialist environment and on the specific basis of our formation. This is why the CPSU Central Committee stresses in the Theses that debates are fruitful only on the basis of socialism and for the sake of socialism, that they must not lead to political confrontation and the fragmentation of social forces. This must be the starting condition.

Correspondent: Can you give an example of the forms of political pluralism that have emerged in our country in the course of restructuring?

V. Shostakovskiy: Take as an example the alternative candidates for elected office nominated by the party, the trade unions, the Komsomol, and other mass organizations. The deeper this process extends, the greater the guarantees for the development of a genuinely pluralist way of life. And how about the different forms of social self-management at places of residence? If they are properly developed—will this not be socialist pluralism in action?...

Correspondent: Does this mean that freedom of political debate is a perfectly realistic prospect?

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V. Zhukov: I would say that it is perfectly real right now: After all, a debate on the theses is already under way. The only point to watch is what is being said and to what purpose. Things must be said with respect for the truth, for the socialist ideal, for one another.

What If Power Sharing Happened?

Correspondent: The second fundamental aspect of the Theses is the demand that power from the bottom to the top be entirely transferred to the soviets. Is this to be taken to mean that the party will retain only the role of ideological leader [vozhd] exercising leadership not through edicts or cadre "games" but through Communists and persuasion?

V. Shostakovskiy: We are interpreting the party's role and functions in a new fashion under the conditions of restructuring. As the political vanguard of a class, it takes on the theoretical elaboration and amendment of the political course and its implementation through the masses, including by introducing scientific awareness and the ideology of renewal. As an organization, it acts through Communists and works with people, aiming to ensure that every collective fully implements its functions and democratic rights. As an educator, it creates an atmosphere of openness, debate, criticism and self-criticism, collectivism, comradeship, and respect for the individual. In this regard it does not supplant either the soviets, or the trade unions and the Komsomol, or any other state or self-motivated institutions.

V. Zhukov: In my view, for example, there is good reason to review the nomenklatura of party committee cadres and to transfer the right to confirm officials elected by labor collectives to the local soviets of people's deputies. And in some spheres of state power, like the legal sphere for example, it is necessary to totally exclude any interference by party organs: The courts and prosecutor's offices must be free from the "leading and guiding" influence of local organs of power and must be given reliable guarantees of independence.

Correspondent: The Theses outline the idea of legal reform based on strict observance of legality, constitutional provisions, and law and order by all, including party organ personnel.

V. Zhukov: Making the law equal and binding for all is an absolute condition for establishing a society based on law. Unfortunately, we have not so far managed to achieve this. But if all the provisions enshrined in the Theses as regards reform of courts and prosecutor's offices are implemented, and especially if they are consistently implemented without exceptions and reservations, if there is real separation of legislative, executive, judicial, and political power—then the ideals of a socialist state based on law will prevail.

Correspondent: Will such a separation be accepted at local level? After all, this means depriving party organs and their apparatus of the right to wield total power over everybody and everything at rayon or oblast level. On the other hand, if such a right does not exist, how are we to really cope with problems, to coordinate and harmonize the actions of all links of social life?

V. Shostakovskiy: There will certainly be some resistance. The point is not even that the redistribution of power and functions will affect some people's personal and selfish interests. It seems to me that nowadays the mass of people, including party personnel, are not so much in favor of the old conditions as afraid of unknown and uncertain new situations, not knowing what it has in store... This, I think, is the reason why they place so many hopes on the conference, expecting the usual "guidelines," "recommendations from the center," and "decisions." The fear of independent decisionmaking and enterprising actions is a scourge whose effect we will feel for a long time to come.

The situation is aggravated by the fact that there are good reasons for fear: The prevailing traditions, the structure of party committees, the absence of local state organs to coordinate interdepartmental interests, the economic organs' desire to shift responsibility onto a party organ, and the virtual powerlessness of soviets, which still have no proper economic levers to exercise their rights—all this supports the illusion that all-pervading party interference is irreplaceable.

Back in the past Lenin stressed in particular that the party can perform its tasks only when it is able not to lose touch with the mass it leads but remains in alliance with it. Indeed, an alliance is a real democratic prospect of party leadership that is in line with the tasks of restructuring, helps to overcome the ossification of our political structures, supports living initiative by the masses, and makes it possible to coordinate their efforts without pressure, on the basis of common interests.

Correspondent: What prevents the implementation of such an alliance? Communist arrogance? Inertia? Fear of an innovative quest by partners? Excessive bureaucratization?

V. Shostakovskiy: The art of political leadership needs special skills, methodological skills. It needs a certain sociological culture on the part of cadres. In order to forecast the development of various processes in society, to elaborate an accurate program of actions, and to efficiently and flexibly respond to miscalculations and excesses, to conservatism and jumping of the gun, to timeserving and leaderism [vozhdism], one needs more than just familiarity with information and the sum total of specialized knowledge. It is necessary to have a certain culture of thinking in order to perceive reality dialectically, as a living movement of contradictory trends, interests, and conditions. It is no secret that it is still not enough to just "raise the question of" such thinking and

make it a "professional qualification" for party cadres. Hence some people's inclination toward administrative management and willful, forcible, and other such "convenient" methods of authoritarian pressure, hence the supplanting of nonparty organs and petty tutelage of them instead of overall leadership.

Correspondent: In this case, corresponding structural changes in the party system suggest themselves. It is probably no accident that raykoms, for example, today already rely increasingly often on public commissions, task forces, and action centers, even though this is frequently done with reservations and a certain caution. Maybe, as you have already said, they are awaiting some reorientation?

V. Zhukov: In my view, the Theses contain accurate guidelines in this regard. They carry out a serious reinterpretation of the party apparatus' contemporary functions and the committee's entire range of duties. I am not sure that the time has come to reject the department as the main link in the party apparatus structure. But I am sure that the sectorial approach in the formation of departments has exhausted its potential and has outlived its time. In addition to strengthening the existing strictly party departments (organizational-party work, propaganda, and agitation), it is possible that new ones might appear (sociological data or, for example, economic analysis).

V. Shostakovskiy: How did raykoms and obkoms take shape? In the conditions of general lack of departmental coordination, when there was virtually no state system for coordinating economic activity within the framework of sufficiently large regions and such coordination had to be effected only through the party committee's authority. Now that the radical economic reform is in operation, the independence of enterprises and labor collectives is being strengthened. And I agree that there is less need for a sectorial structure of the party apparatus. The party organ's structure will have to be restructured with man in view, the implementation of man's interests must become the overall task of the activity of all its subdivisions.

It would be possible to study, for example, the following option: To organize the work of the entire elected party organ according to the principle of commissions or task forces, making them subordinate to party organizers and technical experts. The traditional curatorship over primary party organizations could be abolished, with the main attention being focused on deepening activity along the basic avenues of party work. Such an expansion of social principles and redistribution of the existing contingent of party cadres would make it possible to raise the overall standards of elected organs and democratize the apparatus.

How To "Reeducate" the Apparatus?

Correspondent: The democratization of the apparatus today is a "burning topic," so to speak. The task has been set of restoring the principle of strict subordination and

accountability of the apparatus to elected party organs. Measures have been envisaged to deepen intraparty democracy. Even so, fears persist: Will it be possible to curb the deep-rooted edict and pressure methods, to change the mentality and stance of their bearers—the party functionaries who see themselves as infallible repositories of the truth?

V. Shostakovskiy: A person's stance is the subjective expression of objective conditions, isn't that so? The new tasks of party committees will also demand restructuring in the psychological sphere and will make it necessary to master new approaches and methods of party work. It will be necessary, for example, to overcome the customary technocratic views with their "innate" antidemocracy, disregard for personal interests, and militant anti-humanism. Let us hope that our expectations in this regard will be justified.

Nevertheless, it would be perhaps premature to discount the subjective factor which inhibits the process of the party's democratization: That part of the apparatus that is infected by bureaucratism offers firm and—it sometimes seems—growing resistance to the new demands. Since democratization and the development of genuine party self-management cut the ground from under the feet of this narrow circle of "the chosen."

Correspondent: If the party transforms itself, seriously changing the role of the apparatus, the role of party meetings, and the activity of its links in general, it would be logical to ask: Are Communists everywhere ready for this?

V. Zhukov: Yes, much is being said nowadays about the party being clogged up, about the need to thoroughly cleanse it. I think that the theses correctly pose the question of conducting partywide sociopolitical certification of Communists. It might be sensible to make this certification regular, bearing in mind that, according to Lenin, the watchword is "better fewer, but better."

The Central Committee Theses back the idea about the inappropriateness of "quotas" in the admission of new Communists. It is well known that Lenin's concept of party membership, to which the theses return, includes consideration of the opinion of nonparty people. In what form? Maybe in the form of testimonials and recommendations by labor collectives. In my view, it is time to also switch everywhere to a public [glasnyy] examination of Communists' personal files and truthful information about the reasons for removal from office. The guarantees of the irreversibility of party restructuring are, on the one hand, full development of intraparty democracy and the creation and consolidation of a mechanism for exercise of power by the party masses, and, on the other hand, full openness of party activity for the people and the incorporation as far as possible of the people's will in the mechanism of intraparty democracy.

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Correspondent: Is another lever—the timely replacement of leading party cadres—not more effective?

V. Shostakovskiy: The Central Committee January (1987) Plenum elaborated a new concept of CPSU cadres policy to suit the conditions of restructuring. I would like to remind readers of its approach: The cause of distortions in cadres work is dual—the acute stagnation phenomena, but also the unjustifiably frequent replacements within the cadres corps. The cause will be furthered not by extremes but by clear-cut criteria for assessing cadres and consistency in their implementation.

Following the January plenum, much has already changed in the work with party cadres: Democratic methods for their election are being established on an increasingly broad scale, certification is being introduced, and reports to Communists from primary organizations are becoming a practice. What we need is a precise and well-structured system of accountability by leaders and members of elected organs. The party must protect itself against a situation whereby, in Lenin's words, "an incapable person vested with tremendous power accidentally finds himself at the center."

Correspondent: Could the measures proposed in the Theses become reliable mechanisms for such protection? Like, for example, the limitation on people's terms in elected party office? Participants in the debate express doubts, recall past experiences of failure, point out the "loophole" for election for a third term...

V. Shostakovskiy: The package of measures on profound democratization of cadre work and on the overcoming of formalistic nomenklatura approaches, as contained in the theses, is certainly a step forward. The limitation on terms in office, the elections on the basis of broad choice, competition [konkurs], and competitiveness [sostyazatelnost], and the secret ballot system—all these constitute a promising beginning.

It is, however, impossible to avoid mistakes by cadres by relying on organizational measures alone. Lenin wrote: "No statute will provide a weapon against this, such a weapon can be provided only by measures of 'comradely influence...'" Obviously, such influence is the most important mechanism against abuses of party office.

V. Zhukov: Unfortunately, the statutory duty of Communists concerning criticism and self-criticism has yet to become a daily norm of party organizations' life. And this is what underlies a genuine party comradeship. Communists are often afraid to frankly voice their doubts, views, or opinions at meetings.

Correspondent: A reflex action from the time of stagnation? Or from even earlier times?

V. Zhukov: There is more to it. The problem is rooted not just in the traditions of stagnation or the lack of personal courage. Quite a few paradoxical situations have developed even now, in the conditions of restructuring. Is it not a paradox when a Communist voices criticism and the party organization institutes proceedings against him "for breach of party ethics"? This is obvious mutual protection, unity if you like, but immoral unity. Back in the past, Engels warned against the dangers and likelihood of a party organization degenerating from a comradely alliance into a corporate clique: "It is also necessary for people to finally stop treating party functionaries—their own servants—with constant and excessive delicacy and, instead of criticizing them, most subserviently obeying them as infallible bureaucrats." Thus the fear of criticism and self-criticism is a product of bureaucratic edict methods of intraparty relations, to which the methods of comradeship and genuine democratism are, of course, antagonistic.

Correspondent: Nevertheless, are there any specific means to prevent a party official from degenerating into a bureaucrat? Lenin spoke of election and replaceability at any time; remuneration for labor not higher than a worker's wage; the transformation of every Communist into a "bureaucrat" for a time; performance of monitoring functions by everyone in turn. In other words, we are talking about greater self-management in party organizations, about reduction of party functionaries to a minimum (both in numbers and in remuneration).

V. Shostakovskiy: A self-managing model of the party? In principle, this is the goal of the reform of the political system, the party's self-renewal on democratic principles as enshrined by the Central Committee in the Theses program. But here is a different question: To what extent are we prepared to fully switch to this model today? Judging by data from sociological polls by the Moscow Higher Party School, the inner desire of the majority within the party leans in this actual direction.

V. Zhukov: A sense of sober realism makes it necessary to warn: A struggle has to be waged for every pressing and desirable change both within the party itself and within the political system. No one should expect an easy victory.

It must be realized that, in the conditions of what is still an adverse economic situation, when the old economic mechanism is only cracked, when the radical economic reform is just taking its first steps, when any swift saturation of the domestic market is unrealistic, when contradictions are beginning to be aggravated owing to the imbalance of the prices and distribution system—under these conditions there is an exceptionally great temptation to revert to the tested bureaucratic edict methods of leadership and management. And the danger of such a reversion does exist, since party and soviet organs find the old-style social structures easier to understand and they have mastered these structures to perfection.

Jurist Argues Need for Legal Guarantees in Social, Economic Life
18000485a Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 23 Jun 88 p 2

[Article by B. Lazarev, sector chief at the USSR Academy of Sciences Institute of State and Law, Moscow: "The Legal State. A Continuation of the Discussion on Democratization and the Rule of Law"]

[Text] What kind of state can be recognized as legal? Ultimately only a state that is associated with right and the law and is characterized by the mutual responsibility of the state and all its citizens, organizations and associations in their interrelationships regulated by legislation.

The formation of a socialist legal state as a practical task was first proclaimed by our party. Appropriate objective and subjective prerequisites were required for this.

As long ago as November 1918 the Extraordinary 6th All-Russian Congress of Soviets adopted the decree "On Revolutionary Legality." However, under those conditions it was often necessary to give extraordinary powers to certain state organs (the All-Russian Extraordinary Commission for Combating Counterrevolution and Sabotage, the military commands, the revolutionary committees and so forth). In general, as V.I. Lenin later (1921) remarked, at the time when soviet power was being seized by the throat, the task of insuring firm legality could not be regarded as of paramount importance.

On top of everything else, the formation of new law had still not been completed at that time. On many questions there was no Soviet law. A legal nihilism, born both out of the hatred of the masses for the old laws and out of inertia toward the law in general, was widespread, most workers in the party and state apparatus were insufficiently literate regarding the law, and there was the tradition of the period of "war communism"—acting according to "the exigencies of the revolution"—and the leftist theories of the rapid withering away of law.

Despite all this, in connection with the transition to NEP the party conducted extensive work to strengthen socialist legality. The emergency organs were abolished or transformed. The role of the courts and of the People's Commissariat of Justice was enhanced. The sphere of state constraints was narrowed. The procuracy was set up to supervise the legality of the activity of the organs of state control.

But already by the late Twenties this progressive process had been halted and even turned back. The lack of the necessary level of democracy made possible the formation of the personality cult and the gross violations of law associated with it.

The 20th and 22nd CPSU congresses denounced the lawlessness in the time of the cult of personality and outlined a system of measures aimed at restoring the Leninist principle of socialist legality. There was extensive rehabilitation of innocent persons convicted, the organs of extrajudicial repression (the "special meetings" and so forth) were liquidated, the simplified procedure for examining cases concerning state crimes was abolished, and the organs of state security were purged of criminal elements and placed under the control of the party and higher state organs.

Article 4 of the 1977 Constitution declares that the Soviet state and all its organs function on the basis of socialist legality and insure the maintenance of law and order and the interests of society and the rights and freedoms of all citizens. Thus, the basic idea of the concept of the legal state has been underpinned at the highest legal level.

Life, however, has not been brought totally into life with these constitutional provisions. Lack of respect for the law and the abuse of power were issues in the time of stagnation. Groups of people emerged from among representatives of the highest echelons of power for whom "the laws had not been written." The principle of the binding nature of legal norms for all regardless of position occupied was violated. The effectiveness of the struggle against crime was reduced while at the same time, within the system of the Ministry of Internal Affairs, for example, the wave of falsification in cases, deception and concealment of violations of the law against any reckoning grew. Instances of violations of citizens' rights increased. The danger arose that violations of legality would become a system.

Starting from the mid-Eighties perestroika clearly showed the enormous role of the law and need to strengthen legality and deal decisively with violations of the law. A number of important laws were passed: on labor collectives, on state enterprises (or associations), on cooperatives and individual labor activity. The USSR Law on National Debate of Matters Concerning State Life helped to develop democracy. Adoption of the all-union ukase on compensation for damages incurred by citizens because of illegal actions by state and public organs and officials, and a law on procedure for appealing to the courts against unlawful actions by officials have strengthened the legal guarantees for the rights of citizens. New legislative acts are being prepared on questions of labor and pensions, extending the range of questions resolved with the participation of public organizations, and granting them the right to suspend state decisions. Work is under way to effect major changes in criminal law to make it more humane and democratic.

However, a very great deal remains to be done to make it possible to call our state legal. The CPSU Central Committee Theses for the 19th Party Conference pointed out that the basic feature of the socialist legal

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state is "the supremacy and triumph of the law expressing the will of the people." Meanwhile, up to now many important social relations are being regulated not by laws but by government decrees and departmental enforceable enactments. For example, there is no law on planning procedure or pricing. Moreover, the laws often include only standards for a general procedure and contain an abundance of remissions stating that particular relations are regulated by the Council of Ministers or a corresponding ministry or department.

General procuracy supervision regarding the legality of enforceable enactments issued by ministries and departments needs further strengthening.

In terms of its substance legislation should be such that it is supported by and provides encouragement for creative activity by people and the labor collectives. In this connection, as was noted in the CPSU Central Committee Theses, when legislation is updated it is essential to be guided by the formula "everything that is not prohibited by law is permitted."

It would seem useful to set up consultative councils under the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium and the supreme soviet presidiums in the republics. They could offer conclusions on draft plans for legislative work and make preliminary evaluations of all draft legislation before it is passed on for consideration by the deputies. The representatives of interested ministries and departments now predominate in the working groups preparing draft legislative acts. This leads to an exaggerated reflection of departmental positions and interests in the drafts.

The Soviet state can be proud of the extensive constitutional rights and freedoms of citizens. The center of gravity should now be on the problem of reflecting these rights and freedoms in current legislation and in protecting them against infringement. The administrative-command system of management has included numerous interdictions and sanctions and has assumed a need for people to obtain permission from the authorities to engage in many actions. We think that the legal standards on the citizen require critical re-examination in order to remove unjustified restrictions. It would be advisable to establish a general rule that all enforceable enactments on the rights, freedoms and obligations of citizens be openly published and that it would be impossible to hold anyone liable for a violation of unpublished legal instructions.

The "technology" for resolving issues affecting citizens needs improvement. In particular, a person should have the right to be present at a meeting of a state organ discussing his applications.

As the CPSU Central Committee Theses point out, legal reform is aimed at radically improving the work of all organs called upon to strengthen legality and protect the democratic principles of state life and the rights and freedoms of citizens. Obviously the establishment of new

law enforcement mechanisms is not excluded. For example, in the legal literature the question is being raised of setting up a constitutional tribunal with the right to nullify any enforceable enactment that is at variance with the Constitution and laws.

It is a commonplace that the courts are the most important of the law enforcement organs. This is why the CPSU Central Committee Theses name as one of the priority measures of legal reform "radical enhancement of the role of the judicature." Many proposals on this subject have already been expressed in the press. In particular, it seems useful to increase the number of jurors when very important cases are being tried by the courts. Proposals have also been made to appoint people's judges (to give them greater independence) by ukases of the supreme soviet presidiums in the union republics. In my opinion, this is possible in principle, but in the large republics that have oblasts and krays it would be advisable to make these appointments at sessions of the oblast and kray soviets of people's deputies.

The work of the procuracy, which under the Constitution is called upon to exercise the highest level of supervision over the observance of legality, should be raised to a qualitatively new level. Fulfillment of this task is being hampered by the presence in the procuracy of its own investigative apparatus. Obviously it should be completely or almost completely removed from the management of the procuracy and transferred to other organs (for example, the Ministry of Justice, the Ministry of Internal Affairs or some other new special body). The CPSU Central Committee Theses state that it is essential that the procurators and investigators be shielded from any pressure or interference in their activities. In the future, general supervision by the procuracy must be extended to all organs of state management, including the USSR Council of Ministers.

The CPSU Central Committee Theses envisage broader opportunities for court arbitration and development of the legal service in the economy. In my opinion, we must afford court arbitration the right to nullify acts issued by management organs that infringe on the rights of enterprises and associations.

Formation of the socialist legal state requires the introduction of universal legal education. This proposal has also been reinforced in the CPSU Central Committee Theses. Today legal knowledge is needed both by workers in the state apparatus and among "rank-and-file" citizens for their active participation in the formulation and adoption of management decisions in order to meet their own obligations and exercise and defend their rights.

Lack of legal literacy in personnel of the state apparatus and in economic managers is incompatible with the ideas of the legal state. There must be more extensive publication of texts of and commentaries on legislative

and other enforceable enactments for officials and citizens, and also popular scientific legal literature until all demands for it are satisfied. It would be useful to publish a YURIDICHESKAYA GAZETA to provide current information for officials and citizens about new legislation and to clarify legal questions and familiarize readers with the practical implementation of the law.

We think that if all the proposals voiced are implemented they will help in creating a legal socialist state.

09642

Implications of Theses for Foreign Policy Considered

18000484 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 25 Jun 88 p 4

[Article by A. Adamishin: "A Factor of World Importance"]

[Text] In all ages the destinies of Russia and the destinies of the Soviet Union have not only stirred the world, they have also had an impact on it. By virtue of our country's very size, extending as it does over two continents, its historical traditions going back 1,000 years, and the prestige which its culture has in the world. The impetus that has come from us has not always been unambiguously constructive, and this has also had an impact on world affairs. What is happening in the USSR today is perceived by many as a hope for a qualitative change in the consciousness of humanity that would be followed by access to problems that have come to a head and that even yesterday seemed insoluble. The unique experience of building a new society, which began with the Great October Socialist Revolution, is again gaining a vital and attractive force.

Restructuring is the result of our domestic needs. But it does not respond to our interests alone. The strong ethical principle which has been observed in the processes of renewal has captured attention abroad. Including and perhaps especially in those places where society, if it is not entirely deprived of ideals, then in any case is openly acknowledging that it is suffering from a poverty of the spirit. When a huge country undertakes restructuring without fear of critical and sometimes unsparing self-analysis, when it aims for reference points, difficult though they may be to attain, but in line with man's deepest yearnings, then this cannot but raise the level of the spiritual values in world life as a whole and serve as a precondition in the battle to humanize international relations.

Is it a coincidence that the years of restructuring have at the same time become a period of essential changes for the better in the international situation? The elimination of a portion of nuclear weapons that has begun for the first time in history, the Geneva Accords on Afghanistan, the stable Soviet-American dialogue, including

dialogue at the highest level, and many other constructive signs, which just 3 years ago were unlikely, demonstrate that these two processes are closely connected to one another. Embracing all aspects of the life of Soviet society, restructuring has naturally extended to foreign policy as well. It has been resolutely rejecting everything that no longer corresponds to the real situation, has been advancing bold ideas and initiatives, ever more closely subordinating international actions to the need to create the most favorable possible conditions for carrying out the internal transformations.

And, of course, foreign policy is not confined solely to specific steps in the international arena. The transformations taking place in the country, which are revolutionary in spirit, are making policy, indeed they are doing so quite directly. Projected outside, they are creating a new image of the Soviet Union, they are breaking the propagandistic stereotypes of the negative attitude toward us which had taken shape and were still being cultivated. The most interesting long-term struggles are opening up for the minds of men, for public opinion, which no one can fail to take into account under present conditions.

If politics is the art of winning over allies, then restructuring is the most effective policy. Of course, the attitude abroad toward restructuring, as toward our country as a whole, is not to be measured by a single yardstick. There are friends and there are those who are not well-wishers, there is a very complicated range of differences and shades in views of restructuring and calculations, expectations, and hopes bound up with it. And still there is the fact: the processes taking place in our country are encountering a favorable attitude in a broad spectrum of forces—from Communist, Social Democratic, and other political parties to the Vatican.

There is also feedback. As it has an impact on international conditions, foreign policy also has a significant influence on domestic affairs in the country. Here the reference is to the most direct influence on socioeconomic development, on the standard of living of the people—through the outlays for defense, which depend greatly on the state of international relations, through agreements on economic and scientific-technical cooperation, and through development of exchanges in the most diverse fields. It is no secret that their scale and level of effectiveness are also largely determined by the general political atmosphere. It is one thing when the country is burdened with additional expenditures of the consequence of political oversights or misplaced emphasis. It is something else when the burden of military and other expenditures is relieved because security has been achieved by political means. Foreign policy also means money, quite considerable money, an opportunity to make resources available for the purposes of restructuring.

The first steps have already been taken in this direction. Democratization, glasnost within the country, which is becoming an effective instrument of foreign policy, are also economically efficient.

What gave rise to the discussion of the values of all humanity—one of the main innovative ideas of the 27th congress? Judging by some things which have been written, some people seem to have the sense here of ideological concessions. But is it not a fact that people of all countries and regions do have something in common and that which they have in common, taking shape little by little, becoming established and being reinforced in the course of historical development, has advanced into the foreground global problems which are consequently those of all humanity? Including the paramount problem among them, that of survival. Marxism has never been indifferent to the question of the destinies of world civilization.

It is suitable, I think, to quote the words of V.I. Lenin: "...From the standpoint of the basic ideas of Marxism, the interests of social development are higher than the interests of the proletariat." An analysis of the real contemporary world—highly diverse, torn by contradictions and at the same time interconnected, with an immense potential for collaboration and political solution of problems—is one of the essential achievements of restructuring. Actually, it is a question of achieving the conditions where social development cannot be halted. It is obvious that any policy must now be shaped to accommodate the truth that the struggle for the interests and ideals of any particular class has subordinate importance by comparison to guaranteeing the survival of human civilization.

Thus the need for a new way of thinking is arising with an incontrovertible logic.

The fact that we have begun to apply it first of all toward ourselves (let us mention the old truth—foreign policy begins at home) is gaining trust in the Soviet Union and in its line in international affairs.

Over what is now more than 3 years restructuring has in large part laid a new foundation for foreign policy—in terms of concept and political philosophy—there has been a renewal of approaches—to a greater or lesser degree—along all the main lines: from relations among socialist countries, which have priority for us, to solving the problem of the indebtedness of the developing countries, building the new international economic order, the nonalignment movement, more effective forms of support of those who are fighting for social progress.

Which is not to say that we had not previously advanced the tasks of reduction, limitation, and elimination of nuclear weapons. The fundamental difference is the dynamism, the effectiveness of the proposals advanced, the large number of alternatives offered. As a consequence, a sensible way out of the nuclear blind alley has been proposed, the first knots have been unraveled, including a very important breakthrough in the area of monitoring, and a real physical reduction of nuclear weapons has begun. Movement has also been evident in

such areas as banning chemical weapons, negotiations on reduction of armed forces and conventional arms, limitation of nuclear explosions, and a number of others.

And take the ideas of an all-embracing security, of a nonviolent world, of every people's freedom to choose its own road of development, of reasonable sufficiency, a new approach to regional conflicts, changes in the attitude toward humanitarian problems, human rights—without exaggeration, we now have taken the initiative in international affairs. We are making our own policy, and we are not simply reacting, as was the case, to the actions of others, and, most important of all, we are achieving practical results.

Political solution of regional conflicts is not an easy question. But even this is possible on the basis of realism and a common aspiration to move from a balance of power to a balance of interests, in this case the interests of all the participants in the conflict. The Geneva Accords on Afghanistan, an issue most painful to us, are becoming a touchstone. Of course, the failure to abide by what was agreed by the other side could also have its own consequences—in this case consequences that would be adverse for development of events in other regions.

No human commonwealth is possible unless general democratic foundations of international law, international obligations adopted in the United Nations Charter, the Helsinki Final Communique, and other fundamental international documents, are established in relations among states. Restructuring is aimed at their scrupulous adherence by the Soviet Union—this can also have the force of a specific example, the force of a living and vivid reality of contemporary world policy. We are interested in the efforts of nations united in building a community life suitable for the life of all humanity and in enhancing the role of the United Nations.

What is being achieved, are there no problems? Rather the reverse. As things progress, and in many respects we are still at the beginning of the road in foreign policy—the number of problems increases, they become more complicated, and additional areas are discovered that previously did not receive attention. Again and again one gets the feeling that there are a host of things to be done, since it is not possible to stop and to take a break. And clearly there is a need to put in full operation such mechanisms for working out solutions, for "trying out" various alternatives, as science, public opinion, and the soviets, including the Supreme Soviet.

When the meeting ended with the American President in Moscow, M.S. Gorbachev said that more in fact could have been achieved at it—for all the results that were achieved. True, and this is valid even in a broader context. But even what was done, if looked at objectively, was quite considerable. One can only imagine the potential that can be discovered when all of the reserves, all the capabilities of the human factor and democratic methods are discovered and activated. I am convinced

that in the field of foreign policy the 19th Party Conference, whose decisions we all await with such excitement and interest, will give a new vital impetus.

07045

Party Worker Complains: Theses Are Incomplete
18000496 Moscow MOSKOVSKAYA PRAVDA
in Russian 26 Jun 88 p 3

[Article by L. Semina, senior instructor, Moscow Higher Party School: "Discussing the CPSU Central Committee Theses: Change The Structure, Not The People"]

[Text] The CPSU Central Committee Theses for the 19th All-Union Party Conference evoked a dual attitude for me personally. On the one hand, they contain a constructive program for renovating society's political system and in this respect justify expectations. On the other, for instance, on the problems of restructuring party activity and intraparty democratization, they leave an impression of something unsaid, of incompleteness. Evidently, while the Theses were being prepared and approved, life itself succeeded in going further both in its own spiritual needs and in its own interpretation of the problems of restructuring.

Unquestionably, the fact that the Theses demonstrate readiness to reject many of the dogmas and stereotypes which have accumulated in party building is a strong feature. It is no secret that deformations occurred in Stalin's day, including in the Leninist concepts of the ruling communist party. They tried to convert the union of Russian communists from a party of scientific social creativity, which after October acquired real levers of power for such creativity, into a high commanding echelon for ubiquitous sociopolitical guardianship, devoid of genuine scientism and objectivity. The party was "restructured" from a volunteer association of highly principled like-minded people, who structured their relations with democracy and comradeship, into a sharply tapered pyramid with rigid subordination, silence of the low before the high ranks, and the unaccountability and uncontrolled omnipotence of the latter.

The many deformations are strong, especially in our consciousness. Overcoming them means taking the first vital step toward restoring the Leninist concept.

Here, for example, is one such deformed stereotype: ostensibly, party unity is measured by uniformity of opinions and excludes any clash of ideas, disagreement with each other and struggle for one's own point of view. The resolution of the 10th RKP(b) Congress is usually cited as proof: it prohibited party fractionalism and, since it was passed on Lenin's insistence, it seems, in the ordinary perception, as though he (and not Stalin) was really the "creator" of the party's barracks-like functioning, the establishment of the rigid dictatorship of a single

opinion and the rejection of free discussions. There is nothing further from the truth than this stereotype. It is remarkable that the CPSU Central Committee Theses destroy it.

After all, the goal of the resolution "On Party Unity" was not to eliminate criticism, a particular opinion, diversity of views or the struggle of ideas, but to grant this necessary and mandatory, in Lenin's opinion, process within the party its proper place within the overall scheme. Theoretical discussion, i.e., the development of new knowledge and new approaches by the collective party mind, is one thing, Lenin emphasized, and political struggle, i.e., implementing the party line in practice, is another. Debates in the "head" are appropriate and useful, but when the "hands" argue among themselves the result is nonsense. Fractionalism is not bad in that it contains deviation from the general position, but in that it carries this deviation from the stage of discussion to that of implementation; in that one begins working seriously only on the propaganda of one's own particular views, instead of participating in the overall party work. "Empty" rhetoric contradicts the party's basic concern, its basic work.

Even today we have more than enough people who love "to discuss" and to refute a drafted resolution as "incomplete." Lenin's words: "Anyone has the right to correct the party line. Stand together with the workers and teach them how to fight..., if you know better," were addressed to precisely such "opposition" within the party.

Unfortunately, another lesson of the 10th RKP(b) Congress, which would help to overcome the usual, deeply-seated stereotype of the immutability of party structure did not find final incorporation in the Theses for the 19th Party Conference. Is it really possible to encroach upon the organizational structure of the party? The conditioned reflex of party canonization is a result of the Stalinist trial of dogmatism—it defends against "blasphemy." However, let us turn to the 10th Congress's resolution "On Questions of Party Building," which accompanied the country's conversion to the NEP. The new specific historical situation, the new party course, its new tasks in connection with this and, accordingly, its new type of activity, are characterized within it.

Under the conditions of civil war and the intervention, when the task was to survive by any means, the party structure adopted a form of military-proletarian dictatorship and militarization, an extreme organizational centralism and the curtailment of collective agencies. When the country was reorienting to peaceful economic development, the task of "revitalizing" each party link, right down to the specific communist, arose. The resolution notes that the system of militant orders, mobilizations and unconditional fulfillment as the methods of intraparty work had become outdated. It takes a course toward a working democracy in the party; it develops forms of broad electivity at all levels, accountability and

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controllability. Methods for broad discussions and debates on the most important issues, the full freedom of intraparty criticism and the collective development of general party decisions take first priority.

This resolution implemented the Leninist approach to the organizational structure of the party as a variable phenomenon, following the specific historical condition: "It is important to understand that in revolutionary times the objective situation changes just as quickly as life in general. We should be able to adapt our own tactics and our own immediate tasks to the features of each such situation."

Admittedly, today the party does not always have sufficient ability to reconstruct itself "in motion," according to the changing features of life. Evidently, it makes sense to return to the Leninist approach here as well, to draft special orientational resolutions at congresses or party conferences and to outline the new contours of the organizational-party structure on the basis of the specific historical approach. This is even more important, now that the problem of structure is closing in upon another problem, particularly "fashionable" today—the removability of elected party cadres and limitations upon the period of party office. The Theses have taken social opinion into consideration and have included appropriate "limiting" points. A question, however: for the time being why do all similar "limitations" fail to justify themselves in practice?

I would like to remind you that Lenin always spoke not simply about electivity and removability, but about the electivity and removability of functions. In other words, following his own approach to the formation of structure, he required that party functions within the new specific historical context be re-examined, renovated, reduced and changed in accordance with the new general tasks, and then that those most capable of fulfilling these functions be selected. Changing not the people, but the structure, transferring people about within it and simultaneously freeing it of those who cannot cope—this is the logic and ethics of intraparty democracy. However, to this day a cult not of work or function, but of office, of position, prevails over us in intraparty relations. Any promotion to a party office is interpreted as life's reward, an acknowledgment of special, exclusive capabilities, of social and personal advantage over others not so distinguished. Therefore, any transfer away from the position (besides a promotion) is a failure in life for its possessor, a "devaluation" on the cadre market, a loss not so much of material privileges and benefits, as of high social recognition and membership in an elite. It is understandable that he who has "earned" his office will not want to give it up voluntarily. Then the illusion is also created that bans against holding a certain office for more than two terms are a triumph of democracy.

Hardly. It is not a matter of terms of office. Lenin, for example, often emphasized that not a single self-respecting party can get by without experienced, seasoned,

cadres who work well together, that precisely the presence of these leaders (i.e., professional party workers) is the measure of an organization's political maturity. We can also see that the broad democratic movement which is gaining strength in our country today is advancing its own leaders. This is inevitable: it is an objective law of the functioning of a political union. One wonders: will these newborn leaders refuse "to leave the game" in 3-4 years? In the best case, they would probably slip into the background... However, who, one asks, needs this disguise here, where there are fully real prerequisites for the completely frank and open functioning of all social systems, including the party? Where, with good cause, Lenin advanced a single criteria for the removability of cadres—in accordance with the function involved. Yes, not post, not office, but precisely function!

Each function at any given moment requires its own type of worker. Whereas yesterday the best secretary was a "commander," today he is a "democrat," yet today, in a democratic system of life, the role of organizational support of the party leadership is increasing and we have not yet replaced the "commander," with his firm grip, decisiveness and strong-willed nature. Electivity and removability of cadres means locating each party member in his functionally optimal place and restoring the principle in intraparty cadre work of maneuvering resources, of consolidating them—by way of elections and only elections!—in those positions where the functions and types of workers coincide in the most effective form. It is a question of overcoming, according to the Leninist definition, the petit bourgeois in the party, those who, in being transferred from place to place, begin to reminiscence about "special merits" and refer to "past glories and honors," placing this above the interests of the overall party plan.

The desire to voluntarily leave a position can be created only by developing a new attitude toward party offices, as if to a party mission and not a lifetime sinecure. Disciplinary limitations (time period, age) contradict the democratic essence of the communist party and preserve Stalinist methods within it.

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Officer Discusses Legal Reforms in Context of Military Regulations

18000582 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian
26 Jun 88 p 2

[Article by A. Kovlikov, retired colonel of justice, doctor of juridical sciences, professor: "Legal Guarantees of Democratization"]

[Text] The CPSU Central Committee Theses for the 19th All-Union Party Conference define long-term prospects for the development of the Soviet state and law under the conditions of restructuring. The goal of the work which has begun is specific: to complete, in the

process of democratization of society, the creation of a lawful socialist state, the main and basic feature of which is the supremacy and triumph of the law, which expresses the people's will.

Serious changes in the state and legal area are, of course, reflected in the life of the USSR Armed Forces as well and require the re-examination of a number of aspects of military legislation and the further strengthening of military order.

How can we ensure the supremacy of law in the army's life and activities? What does this presuppose? Above all, it requires the strict conformity of all norms of military legislation of the USSR Constitution with all other laws of the USSR and the Union republics. In other words, general military regulations, all of our directions and instructions and any order by a commander or chief should conform to the law and ensue from a proper understanding and interpretation of these norms, established by higher state authorities.

Is it possible to raise the authority of the legal agencies which regulate servicemen's life even higher? It is possible, and in this regard it is necessary. It seems that there are grounds for raising the question of whether the legislature—the USSR Supreme Soviet—should approve general military regulations, the importance of which cannot possibly be overestimated. Certainly this would not only elevate the legal status of the regulations but would also noticeably affect their content, not to mention their stability.

The same can also be said for the normative acts which set the procedure for serving in the military. Indeed, will we not gain if they are adopted as law? Undoubtedly, it is considerably easier and simpler to change a governmental decree than a law. On the other hand, however, the legal position of servicemen should, after all, be stable.

In my opinion, the law and not various other types of legal acts should determine the grounds for ensuring military order and should establish the rights and responsibilities of servicemen and of one or another social institution within the units and subunits. In this connection, it seems to me, it would be appropriate to formulate a requirement within the military regulations to the effect that every order must conform to the law.

Democratization under the conditions of the Armed Forces above all entails a decisive increase in the active ness of all servicemen, of military collectives on the whole and of all of their social organizations in the main sector—in strengthening order and increasing military efficiency and readiness. This, it seems, is clear to everyone, given the appropriate legal and other guarantees. In this sense, it is extremely important to evaluate the present-day legal status of the collectives of military units, ships and subunits. Can we claim today that this status leaves room for democratization? Hardly. The

rights of military, as opposed to labor, collectives are not regulated by any single normative act whatsoever. There are, for instance, references to meetings of subunit personnel for the public censure of violators of military discipline, and to meetings of ensigns, warrant officers and officers. These are in the Disciplinary Regulations. However, the nature of the decisions which such a meeting has the right to make is vague. On the basis of law, an interdepartmental procedure was established for holding servicemen's meetings for the purpose of electing or recalling the people's assessors of military tribunals. A number of specific rights have been granted to military, as well as labor, collectives by procedural legislation, namely, the right to petition for transfer on bail, for suspended conviction or a lifted conviction, for permission to have a public prosecutor or public defender participate in a court session, and others. According to established tradition, these rights can be realized only if the corresponding petition was supported by a commander, although, strictly speaking, there is no such stipulation within the procedural law itself. The regulations of a number of other laws granting various legal rights to labor collectives have also been applied to military collectives, taking the specific conditions of military service into account. It seems to me that it is time to legally reinforce all rights of military collectives of units and subunits. In this connection, it would be proper and wise to solve the principle question, that of the correlation between the rights of the commander in chief and of the military collective. This could be achieved by including special addenda within the Internal Service Regulations of the USSR Armed Forces, which would regulate the powers of military collectives. In the same manner, it would be appropriate to define the procedure for holding servicemen's meetings and the making of decisions by them, although we should also draft a separate normative act on this subject.

We extensively utilize the Comrades' Courts, a democratic means of involving society in the struggle against negative phenomena. There are laws regarding them. The Comrades' Courts of Honor for officers, ensigns, warrant officers and re-enlisted servicemen, functioning in the Armed Services, make their own contribution to strengthening law and order and to the upbringing of servicemen. However, at the present time Comrades' Courts do not exist for privates and sergeants who are serving their statutory term. Incidentally, such courts were created in the Red Army's first years of existence. V.I. Lenin attached great significance to them. Comrades' Courts existed for everyone, regardless of service ranks, during the Great Patriotic War as well. Today, it is difficult to explain why privates and sergeants were at some stage deprived of the right to examine violations of law and misdemeanors committed by their comrades and to make decisions in this connection which reflect the collective's will. The lack of such courts does more than impoverish the arsenal for upbringing. According to law, the military prosecutor and military tribunal can in a number of cases dismiss a criminal case, when the accused does not pose a public threat, and transfer the

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case to the Comrades' Court for examination. Yet, what if there is no such court? In such a case, the private or sergeant is either held criminally accountable or he turns out to be beyond any legal influence.

The criminal law reform is currently being drafted. In particular, it proposes a more extensive use of measures for social influence on law-breakers. I believe that this again obligates us to study the problem of re-establishing Comrades' Courts for privates and sergeants who are serving the statutory term, and to draft a corresponding legislative act.

It is difficult to conceive of the process of democratization without strengthening the individual's legal defense or expanding the guarantees of citizens' rights and freedoms. This is also true with respect to the Armed Forces. Here, it seems to me, we must also take into consideration the present-day negative attitude of a certain segment of young people toward military service, caused to some extent by cases of the humiliation of individual dignity and the violations of the individual's rights which occur in the military. I am referring to so-called "non-regulation interrelations." Military service should take place under conditions of reliable legal guarantees for individuals. The necessity of these guarantees is stipulated, moreover, by the humane nature of our system, by the very essence of socialism, in which the individual is of the highest value.

The laws and regulations of the Armed Forces define the serviceman's legal status in such a way as to ensure the protection of his constitutional rights and freedoms, naturally, within a framework which takes the specific conditions of a military organization into account. In my opinion, this framework needs considerable expansion. What do I have in mind? The general military regulations describe the general, official and special duties of servicemen in great detail. Yet the regulations virtually do not define servicemen's rights in any direct form, although these rights are contained in other normative acts and implied in a number of regulation statutes. Incidentally, we do not assert that there are no rights without responsibilities or responsibilities without rights for no reason. Our regulations, of course, would be better if they contained statutes on the rights of servicemen and their basic guarantees in a direct form.

Due to the specific nature of military service, certain limitations on the servicemen's individual rights and freedoms are unavoidable. However, the interests of the matter require that this be directly stipulated by law according to the principle of the minimally permissible. It would be beneficial to introduce a norm within the regulations which prohibits placing any sort of limitation upon the rights of servicemen which is not stipulated by law or by the regulations themselves. The principle "anything not forbidden by law is permitted," which has received much publicity of late, can and should find

reflection in military legislation, not affecting the fundamentals of military law and order, such as one-man command, unquestioning obedience to orders and the strict regimentation of everyday life.

Everyone knows that criminal law stipulates strict accountability for criminal infringement upon life, health, honor and dignity, and personal freedom and property. Servicemen, like all other citizens, are guaranteed the right to legal defense against such infringements. As of 15 December 1983, by decree of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, the Law on Criminal Accountability for Military Crimes was supplemented by an article stipulating criminal accountability for violent actions by one serviceman with regard to another, when both are of equal rank. Previously, such actions were not included among military crimes and the guilty parties were punished either for hooliganism or for crimes against an individual, irregardless of the fact that they cause great damage to military law and order. The addendum to the law put everything in its proper place. Conditions were created for the more decisive and juridically accurate struggle against these disgraceful phenomena. Yet all the same... The definition itself of the crime as a "violation of statutory rules for interrelations" is rather diffident and vague, and therefore imperfect. One might get the impression that it is a matter of some harmless sort of thing. After all, statutory interrelations cover a very broad scope. Why not just directly state that it refers to the infliction of beatings, causing bodily injuries and other types of insults to fellow servicemen? Criminal law strives to call things what they are—premeditated murder, assault, banditry, threatening a chief, violence toward a chief, etc. In such a case, the law would have been violated.

The procedure for examining servicemen's suggestions, declarations and complaints must also not escape attention. Today it is regulated by the statutes of Chapter 5 of the Disciplinary Regulations of the USSR Armed Forces, yet only with regard to causing damage to the Armed Forces or to illegal actions on the part of commanders and violation of the serviceman's rights. Yet, what if the serviceman wants to make a suggestion or declaration of a different nature, for instance, related to the further strengthening of the Armed Forces? Of course, he has not been deprived of that right. The laws currently in effect do not forbid him from turning to the military prosecutor's office with declarations and complaints, or from complain of unjust actions by officials who damaged his rights as a citizen, within the limits set by law. It would be desirable to reflect all such situations within the military regulations.

Firm guarantees of the democratization of life in the Armed Forces are inconceivable without improvements, the development of military legislation, and the introduction within it of new ideas, born of restructuring and dictated by the times.

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Worker, Party Official, Journalist Express Hopes on Eve of Conference

18000486 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 27 Jun 88
pp 1-2

[Interview with V. Tikhomirov, lathe operator of the Plant imeni Vladimira Ilich and member of the CPSU Central Committee; V. Vinogradov, first secretary of the Sovetskiy Rayon Party Committee; and Otto Rudolfovich Latsis, journalist, doctor of economic sciences, first deputy editor-in-chief of the journal KOMMUNIST, by B. Kozhemyako: "The Renewal—Within Us"; date and place not given]

[Text] From whatever positions we have approached the choice of strategies for development of our economy, culture, and social and spiritual life, man will be the principal factor. It is on this basis that the party has advanced the task: revolutionary restructuring as the ideology of renewal. How is it being performed in everyday life? What have been the shifts and interferences, what have been the difficulties and problems here? A correspondent of PRAVDA put these questions to three delegates to the 19th All-Union Party Conference, representing party members of Moscow along with other comrades. Those taking part in the conversation were V. Tikhomirov, lathe operator in the Plant imeni Vladimira Ilich and member of the CPSU Central Committee, V. Vinogradov, first secretary of the Sovetskiy Rayon Party Committee, and O. Latsis, doctor of economic sciences, journalist, and first deputy editor-in-chief of the journal KOMMUNIST.

[Question] All four of us are children of our time and it might be said of a particular time: the mid-thirties. Just as we recall the history books in which the portraits of the "enemies of the people" were painted in black and white, so our country's biography was presented to us with the secrecy of a prison, or, as it is now put, with blank spots. And now in the schools they have even been forced to eliminate the history examinations: the textbooks have turned out to be very far from the actual historical reality. In short, everyone has to learn all over again—both young and old.

[V. Tikhomirov] The press is helping while there are no history books for teaching. On the way to work at 0600 hours you see how they are buying up the newspapers, how people are passing them from hand to hand. And you arrive where you work—and the first question is "Did you read?..." To tell the truth, I do not manage to read everything that is interesting in the newspapers and journals. In general, my thanks to the journalists.

[O. Latsis] It is, of course, pleasant to hear something like that from readers. But when my colleagues in the profession begin to praise themselves—we, they say, are the leaders of restructuring, we are in the front ranks, and so on—I get irritated. Now, of course, we have restructured ourselves to some extent. Or perhaps it is more accurate to say that we have been restructured? We

have been given the opportunity to write about things which were previously prohibited. And now a mass of facts has been dumped into the pages of newspapers and journals. But they still have to be assimilated in thought—that is the point!

[Question] When you speak about the depth of the journalistic and scientific analysis, I liked very much your article in IZVESTIYA, Otto Rudolfovich. You remember, the answer to the reader? Concerning the myths about the times of Stalin, about how good our life was then. In my opinion, something like that conversation is exactly what we need—without hysteria, convincingly and meaningfully.

[O. Latsis] But some readers react altogether without restraint. What a roasting they gave for nothing to poor Mironov, who wrote the letter. And me as well, of course. You know, no one is indifferent here. The letters are fervent, the soul cries out.

[Question] Probably there is no other way it could be. The topic under analysis is too acute. Although.... I will tell an astonishing story. In Novgorod they held a plenum of the party obkom to discuss the results of the February Plenum of the Central Committee and the tasks in the ideological effort. Before that, the oblast newspaper had reprinted an article by Nina Andrevna from SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA, and then, of course, an editorial of PRAVDA. But the report went on and there was not a word about that. The discussion began—again quite short. Then one local writer could not hold back and sent a note to the presidium: "Explain why our newspaper has after all reprinted the manifesto of the forces opposed to restructuring?" After that, during the pause practically all the secretaries on the obkom talked to a second writer so that he would not ask for the floor. Why, they said, arouse passions? And after the break no one spoke again about this most acute ideological situation. The entire plenum gave the appearance that nothing special had even happened. You see, things are glossed over, they close their eyes in silence to even an acute issue.

[V. Vinogradov] So what, that is also a position. The position of the ostrich who burrows his head in the sand. If acute issues are raised (and they are being raised more and more!)—it will turn away, it will attempt to be silent, it will attempt to clothe itself in some sort of general rhetoric. Half-measures, half-truths, half-glasnost.... No, if something like that succeeds anywhere, then soon, I am convinced, it will not succeed anywhere. People want to know the whole truth and only the truth, without exception. And they want to talk about everything openly. We also had a plenum on the ideological effort. Some 24 persons spoke. There are times when even more speak. I think they mainly speak from the heart. But in our rayon there are also those who feel that "it is better

not to arouse passions." They are the ones who want everything to remain as it has been. Then, after all, there are fewer worries and troubles and indeed also less responsibility.

[V. Tikhomirov] You can't avoid worries, hide from them. And acute issues make you think. I recently talked to a young lad who had come back from the armed forces. I told him to prepare himself for joining the party, that we would help him. I had known him before he went away—a good production worker, a civic-minded man. He seemed to agree. But after a time I observed and saw that my Seryozha was beginning to waver. "How did it happen," he said, "Vladimir Porfiryevich, that the party allowed the repression and the stagnation?" You see how the change takes place. So, I think that you and I, friend, have to have a little talk about basics, and more than one, OK, a little talk.... I will tell the truth: some party members and even party officials shirk the complicated problems which reality brings to the surface. Today, after all, you do not grab somebody by the throat, you do not beat him up with your fists. Persuade, argue, debate—that is the different method.

[O. Latsis] I would like to know, Vladimir Porfiryevich, if they have begun to work better in your plant? And in general, what do they think about things today? You see, we receive many letters, they talk about restructuring, about glasnost and democratization, we are working more strenuously, we have created the new economic system, to be sure, it is only beginning to take hold, it is early for it to have been able to yield full results, but still.... But it has not become easier to live. Probably it has even become more difficult. Why is this? Just as before there are still many goods that are not in the stores. The trade sector seems outrageous, that is the way it is. What is this restructuring? People say: there is talk, but we do not see results.

[V. Tikhomirov] I also hear that in my own collective. Things are bad there, there are lines, there is rude treatment.... But my thought is who will change all this for us? The question you asked was this: Have they begun to work better at the plant? Not everyone by any means! There are still many finger-pointers, which is what I call them. They come up to you and begin to point to where things are bad. They say, you are a member of the Central Committee, go and set things right. But why me, and not you yourself? There are even party members among those finger-pointers, that is what is especially annoying. Instead of doing, they poke with their finger.

[O. Latsis] You have made the transition to full cost accounting (khozraschet) and self-financing?

[V. Tikhomirov] Not yet. The reason is that a big reconstruction project is taking place in our plant. But we do have brigades working on contract.

[V. Vinogradov] Where they have made the transition to the new economic system it has gotten far better. Not everywhere, but you can already see it. I am judging just by our industrial-trade association specializing in leather clothing accessories. People's feeling of being the boss is increasing—that is the most important thing. They are beginning to show more initiative. The alienation from production is being overcome.

Or I might speak about young people. In our case they have gotten together from various enterprises to form a youth housing cooperative. They work together, they rest together. As they say, when you eat, you get an appetite. They have completed construction of housing—then they tackled a complex for physical education and rehabilitation. They have activated it. With their close-knit collective they have done more in 3 or 4 months than was done in an entire year before them. They have used substandard materials and installed the wall panels. Now everything is there: both a covered sports arena and a complete physical therapy complex, and soon a young people's club will open, a cafe with ice cream and nonalcoholic cocktails.

You cannot influence young people by just applying the methods of administrative command and autocratic methods. We might as well face it, we tried. We managed to achieve very little that was any good that way. Then we tried the other way. For example, we got the "Metallist" to come to our Culture Center "Kommuna"; through the city Komsomol committee we invited the "Rok-Metall" Laboratory. On the initiative of the rayon Komsomol committee the club "Dialog" was organized. And young people have been drawn there because interesting encounters, disputes, and conversations take place. With journalists and filmmakers, with physicians and party leaders....

[O. Latsis] You, Valeriy Viktorovich, have in my opinion touched on an extremely important question which has long been disturbing me personally, one whose solution would seem in large part to be crucial to our restructuring. This is overcoming authoritarianism. We say more democracy, more socialism! We think back to Lenin, who emphasized that the Soviets meant not only power for the workers, but also power of the workers. And in this we speak and remember rightly. But here at the same time there is this damned microbe of authoritarianism in our society. And, of course, it is very harmful to our cause.

We know very well where this microbe came from. The basis of its influence is fear, which came to us from the era of the cult of personality and was replaced by the indifference of the period of stagnation. What is the "principle" here? I will give you an order—and you will carry it out. I am the state, the party, the gorkom, the Central Committee, the ministry, or the Academy of Sciences. I have more experience and a higher position. I am the father in the family, the teacher in the school. I

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will look after your welfare, I will tell you what is necessary, and there is no longer any need for you to think, you just do what I say.

That is the authoritarian perception in the school and in the VUZ. That is the kind of authoritarianism in propaganda, in the operation of the public organizations, the attitude toward literature, which ultimately means you read this, and do not read that. It is the same thing with music. I think that even the notorious "dedovshchina" in the armed forces was engendered by this. A man entered the army after going through a course in authoritarian training in the family, in the school, and in the vocational and technical school. His aggressiveness builds up when here again they begin to order him around. And then when he gets rank, he feels that the power is in his hands—and he will not give it up to anyone.

That is why I like it when you respect the personality in a man. Build a youth housing cooperative for yourself, and a sports complex, and figure out yourself which music is really good and which is nothing more than a clanking of iron. We, they say, are trying to help you without any strings. That is the point of restructuring. Democracy—so that people do not do things because they are ordered to do them, but do them on their own.

[V. Vinogradov] If we are going to talk about the sense of being the boss, I would make reference to the elections of leaders, which are now being practiced ever more widely. Very interesting incidents are occurring! For instance, at the Plant imeni 1 May they elected the chief of one of the shops. The party bureau and management nominated the candidates, but the collective did not agree. They elected someone milder, obliging, more easygoing. And all this may, of course, be rather pleasant in practice. But it is not so much a good-hearted manager we need as one who is skillful. And this person began to simply let the work pile up. When you take into account that cost accounting has been introduced in the shop, so that everyone's pocketbook is quickly affected by that kind of management, then you can understand the workers who in just 3 months raised the question of replacing the chief. You see, they themselves realized what kind of manager is needed today. The sense of being the boss prompted them.

And what happened in the construction repair administration of Goskino? Yereshchenko was the chief there. He is like the direct opposite of the shop chief. Rigid, determined. But then his authoritarian and administrative methods came into conflict with reality. They began in the administration to make the transition to self-financing and cost accounting, and he absolutely did not take the council of the work collective into account. The coefficients were all arrived at in the office, behind a door that was shut tight. The workers raised their voices, and so did he—out of arrogance. So they called a meeting of the council of the collective, they declared a lack of confidence, and they voted to get rid of him. Here again,

if you please, is the sense of being the boss. I would even say the boldness of being the boss! Earlier perhaps, they might have been silent and reconciled themselves. But not now.

Now people have begun to take a far stricter attitude toward the moral image of the leader and manager. For example, for a long time they put up with the monkey business of Pototskiy, secretary of the party organization of the assembly administration of Minlesprom. You know, he worked as section chief, and that means jacking up pay and awarding unwarranted bonuses, it was all up to him. In short, he kept people quiet. And in those 6 years' time he managed to resell five private automobiles. And to choose among the buyers. And so ultimately his subordinates were fierce in making an issue of him. Just as it should be.

[Question] I would like to ask you, Valeriy Viktorovich, how things stand with you concerning cooperation? How many cooperatives do you have in your rayon now?

[V. Vinogradov] There are 39 registered, 28 of them are already in operation. I feel that we need to support cooperatives in every way. The service sector in our rayon has not been set up as well as on the average in Moscow. But even that is not the only trouble. We have become convinced in practice of the diverse benefits of cooperatives. They have already rendered services to the public in the amount of 600,000 rubles, and produced consumer goods worth 130,000.

[O. Latsis] And the state sector also has a service sector in your rayon?

[V. Vinogradov] Now here it runs to tens of millions. The cooperatives have taken only the first steps. So, as I have said, they need to be given every kind of support at present. We have been supporting the cooperatives in the party raykom. They listened, they dealt with all the difficulties, they discovered what were the most complicated problems, and they held counsel on how best to solve them.

It has turned out that it is even advantageous to create cooperatives in association with industrial enterprises. Just one example. Rejected zippers have accumulated for years in the "Molniya" Plant. They did not bother with them because there was no financial motivation to do so. But now they have created a cooperative with a few workers, and they have made use of them. This year alone they have earned about 60,000 rubles of clear profit for the enterprise. As you see, a cooperative has been operating successfully under contract with a plant.

Other interesting examples were also referred to in a meeting held in the headquarters of the raykom. But here is what we did not expect: the cooperators themselves came forth with their own suggestion of crediting a sizable amount to the Communist Saturday fund, and another part of the money to fit out the children's home.

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[V. Tikhomirov] Probably it cost them nothing to make that appropriation from their proceeds. Right now at the plant, I will be frank, we are interested in seeing that people do not flee from enterprises into cooperatives. I think that tax policy must be stricter.

[O. Latsis] So as to smother the child while it is still in the cradle? Oh, I was afraid it would turn out this way. What very clever masters we are at "keeping people down and not letting them go." They are getting too much money? But where is the line between what is too much and what is not? And then the main thing is that that money be earned.

[Question] Allow me to put yet another question to you in this connection. There is a fear (expressed by many) that the drive for material interests, to get ahead, might have bad repercussions in the nonmaterial sphere, in people's upbringing. Just look, a popular journalist gave an article of his the title "Ideals or Interests?" Another titled his book "A Socialism of Reason Against a Socialism of Feeling." Doesn't this kind of opposition contain a threat to the consciousness and ideals of our people? In general, it is a question of economics and ethics.

[O. Latsis] It seems to me that quite often we impose on the economy all kinds of collateral duties that are not proper to it. And in the end there is not much it can do. It cannot play the piano, for example, nor can it remove an appendix. It is not to blame for that, this in fact is something it should not do. Upbringing is still a particular function of society.

I would even say that a bad economy, one that is poorly organized, is always immoral. It only makes people depraved and corrupt. It makes it clear to him that he needs to steal, that if you do not steal, you will go to ruin. I am not speaking now about business executives, enterprise directors, who have been forced to use every dodge since they had not honest way to fulfill the plan.

So, I repeat: a bad economy is amoral, and a good economy...would be neutral from the moral standpoint. Upbringing is after all not the task of production.

[V. Vinogradov] No, I do not agree with you here at all. I will give a real example. In our rayon we have the "Stekloagregat" Plant. For many years it was among the real stragglers. Reconstruction projects were not carried out, for many years there was no change in the capital assets. More than 30 percent of the people are working there on assignments from job placement offices—that is, "birds of passage" who have already made mistakes everywhere.

And then the management of the enterprise was removed. I will not say that a miracle occurred immediately and that everything was transformed by a sleight of hand. That is not, of course, the way it was. Gradually, step by step, the atmosphere of the plant did change. It began with more attention to people. And an interest

sprang up in them to build for themselves a sauna, employee facilities, rooms for rest and psychological relaxation.... Those who felt themselves to be temporary stayed on as permanent personnel. There was a change in the attitude toward work. And especially when cost accounting began to be introduced. What does this example tell us?

[O. Latsis] If there is full cost accounting, which makes man the true boss in production, then probably we would not refer to that mechanism as neutral. It would be moral. Responsibility will be formed in a man for what he produces and for what he spends. He will begin to count not just the money in his own pocket, but to estimate the end result of his own work and the work of the entire collective. That is already a certain level of morality. Let it even pass first through his own pocket. But ultimately it will be social morality. And if a man spends what belongs to society as though it were no one's, there is no morality. Such a man is capable of anything, whoever he is—be he worker or minister in the government.

[Question] And the last question: What do you especially expect from the 19th All-Union Party Conference?

[V. Tikhomirov] Decisions which ultimately will enhance the role and responsibility of party members in our society. That is why I support the proposal stated in the Theses of the CPSU Central Committee about conducting sociopolitical certification of party members. The party should be more resolute in ridding itself of the ballast that has accumulated in the years of stagnation. Both enrollment and the party ranks need to be dealt with far more strictly, free of the notorious distribution orders. To be honest, it is humiliating when people look at an idler, a money-grubber, a time-server, or embezzler and say: "That is what they are like, those communists...."

[V. Vinogradov] I attribute great importance to the course outlined in the Theses toward a clear delineation of the functions of party and soviet authorities. Everyone must stick to his own job, without replacing or duplicating one another. Along with another three raykoms in Moscow, we are conducting an experiment the point of which is to eliminate departments for the various branches and sectors. In my opinion, the new organization of work in the party committee is justifying itself.

[O. Latsis] I feel that we should not expect any instantaneous miracle from the conference. All the problems which have accumulated in our society for decades cannot be solved in a few days. But I still think that we can collectively find approaches to solving many problems. Even with respect to reform of our political system and in the economy and the social sphere. It is important to find additional potential so that even in the near future we can raise the material standard of living of our

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people. And, of course, the people expect new steps in development of democratization and glasnost which will make restructuring irreversible.

07045

Military Leadership Views Pre-Conference Debate

*LD2806111 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian
28 Jun 88 First Edition p 1*

[Unattributed report: "At the USSR Defense Ministry and the Soviet Army and Navy Main Political Directorate"]

[Text] The USSR Defense Ministry and Soviet Army and Navy Main Political Directorate have discussed the results of the debate among Army and Navy Communists and personnel on the CPSU Central Committee Theses for the 19th all-union party conference.

It was noted that the CPSU Central Committee Theses have occupied a central place in Army and Navy life. The discussion has been conducted at open party, trade union, and Komsomol meetings and in military and labor collectives. Delegates elected to the conference have taken an active part in this work. They have been given numerous mandates at their meetings with personnel.

Everywhere the discussion was conducted in an atmosphere of free, businesslike exchange of opinion, critical analysis of the achievements to date in the years of restructuring in the country as a whole and in every military and labor collective, and a frank comparison of views. The participants in the meetings tried to establish as clearly as possible where restructuring is successfully gathering momentum and where it is moving only slowly, boldly discussed the factors holding back the process of renewal and the people responsible, and suggested real measures to smash the braking mechanism.

More than 92,000 proposals were made at the meetings, including some 35,000 addressed to the 19th all-union party conference. A special place was given to proposals designed to create reliable guarantees of restructuring's irreversibility. Most of them are concerned with improving the ideological and political situation in the country, consolidating the policy of glasnost, and tackling the problems of strengthening the party, making internal party life more democratic, and enhancing the role played by the CPSU as the leading, organizing force in Soviet society.

A considerable proportion of the proposals are aimed at strengthening the defense capability of our state and its Armed Forces. In this connection the Thesis on the Priority of Qualitative Parameters in Defense Building, the Technical Equipping of the Army and Navy, and the Training and Education of Personnel was discussed with particular interest. The state of affairs in specific military collectives was studied in depth and from every angle and constructive proposals were made. Considering the danger of war that exists, the conference documents propose that emphasis be placed on the constitutional and program thesis on the duty of every Soviet citizen to defend the socialist fatherland.

The participants in the meetings addressed a considerable number of critical observations and proposals to a series of main and central directorates under the USSR Defense Ministry. They are concerned with seeking ways to more effectively enhance the combat readiness and quality of training of Army and Navy personnel, improve cadre policy, and restructure the sociopolitical life of military collectives.

The proposals addressed to the conference have been sent to the CPSU Central Committee and the remainder are being examined by the USSR Defense Ministry and Soviet Army and Navy Main Political Directorate. Personnel will be informed of the decisions taken on these proposals through political bodies and party organizations.

Numerous proposals and observations were addressed to administrative bodies and to the command and party organizations of units and subunits. The USSR Defense Ministry and Main Political Directorate of the Soviet Army and Navy are appealing to commanders, staffs, political bodies, and elected party bodies to take the necessary measures to implement them.

Preparations for the 19th all-union party conference and the discussion of the CPSU Central Committee Theses have had a favorable impact on every aspect of life and activity in army and navy collectives and contributed to enhanced combat readiness and stronger military discipline.

The USSR Defense Ministry and Main Political Directorate of the Soviet Army and Navy are confident that Army and Navy personnel will take the decisions of the 19th all-union party conference to heart, make every effort to put them into practice, and, through their military labor, make a worthy contribution to the task of strengthening the armed defense of our motherland.

Estonian Creative Unions Address Appeal to Conference
18000420 Tallinn MOLODEZH ESTONII in Russian
13 May 88 p 3

[Appeal unanimously adopted by the unified plenum of boards of the creative unions of Estonian SSR on 2 April 1988 in Tallinn]

[Text] We the participants in the unified plenum of the boards of creative unions of Estonian SSR appeal to the 19th All-Union Party Conference to express our attitude toward certain urgent problems in the development of our society whose discussion at the conference we consider vitally necessary to achievement of the most important goals of restructuring.

The upsurge of social and political activity of the creative intelligentsia of Soviet Estonia and of the entire people stands in sharp contrast to that atmosphere of political alienation, cynicism, and disappointment which appeared insurmountable just 3 years ago. This shift in the mood of society and people's social behavior, which was brought about by the course initiated by the April (1985) Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee and the party's 27th congress, is the first real triumph of restructuring in Estonia, in spite of the many problems that have not been solved and which have been exposed during development of glasnost.

At first glance it is the strain on interethnic relations in the republics that is the most disturbing of these problems. We consider it our duty to appeal to the CPSU Central Committee and party conference to thoroughly analyze the objective economic and political contradictions in development of our multinational state that lie behind such adverse tendencies. These are interrelations between republics which have voluntarily joined the Union and union government authorities. It is indispensable to reestablish the Leninist principles of the sovereignty and equality of the union republics.

One of the issues crucial to the destiny of restructuring is the shattering of the ossified bureaucratic machine, which led our society to the brink of economic and political crisis. In the ethnic republics the omnipotence of the bureaucracy took the form of legitimized arbitrariness on the part of union ministries and departments, which have neglected local economic, ecological, and sociocultural needs and interests. As a consequence, the local economy has been operating at a loss, migration has been growing uncontrollably, the threat of ecological disasters has been increasing, and the population has been increasingly dissatisfied with the way their social and cultural demands have been met. In the context of a multinational state all of this is fraught with exacerbation of ethnic relations and growing dissatisfaction of the local population with the activity of the central authority. The local bureaucracy, accustomed to belittling and concealing problems of this kind and not wishing to change the situation, gladly substitutes activity meant

for show and an indoctrinal effort and struggle against alleged nationalism instead of solving the real socioeconomic problems. And in the present situation of restructuring it is also striving to derive again for itself by speculating on the threat of separatism, by disinforming nationwide public opinion and at the same time helping from below to aggravate the dissatisfaction of the population with the actions of central departments, hoping that this will ultimately result in disappointment with restructuring.

Estonia is no exception in this. The decades of extensive economic activity, including unrestrained expansion of industrial enterprises under union jurisdiction, have had an adverse effect on the demographic, ecological, and recently even economic situation in the republic.

The share of the main nationality in the republic has dropped by one-third since 1945 and is approaching a figure below 60 percent, which has brought a state of social depression on the Estonian nationality. With respect to the mining of shale on our territory, we can speak even now of a senseless waste of a raw material which will be increasingly valuable to the chemical industry in the future. The planned expansion of thermal power stations and increased oil shale mining are an example of inefficient and mismanaged production. The good-for-nothing and economically unsound expansion of the production of phosphorites demanded by the USSR Ministry of Fertilizer Industry threatens to take the ecological blockage both of our republic and also of neighboring states of the Baltic Sea to the verge of crisis. Further attempts to expand industrial production in Estonia involving a strain on the local labor supply will result in rising popular resentment. It has to be acknowledged that the republic's representative bodies have been displaying conformism and have not been taking sufficient advantage of the legal rights they have to prevent the adverse tendencies and to restrain departmental ambitions.

The inability of the republic's leadership to manage complicated political and socioeconomic processes in this situation has become obvious. This circumstance, along with the insufficiency of democracy and glasnost in solving the most important strategic problems in development of Estonian SSR, have resulted in a manifest crisis of confidence in the republic.

The problems referred to above require in our opinion radical changes in the political system as to guidance of the union republics; it must be brought into conformity with the principles of socialist self-management and democracy:

1. On behalf of consistent implementation of Leninist principles of socialist federalism, we propose discussion in the party conference of the need to spell out the constitutional guarantees of the sovereignty of the union republics.

We consider it especially important to amend those provisions of the USSR Constitution (Article 73, Paragraphs 5, 6, and 7) in which all-union departments are essentially given unrestricted power in management of economic life on the territory of the union republics.

We also consider it indispensable to make revisions in the points of the USSR Constitution (Article 33) concerning citizenship of the union republics and on that basis to delineate citizens' rights and duties with respect to the USSR and with respect to the union republic. The constitutional guarantee of the parity rights of the union republics in forming central bodies of government and an essential increase in the practical participation of the union republics in dealing with nationwide economic and political issues and in the representation of the USSR abroad should also be considered important. Extensive centralism in international cooperation acts as a brake on economic life as well as on the exchange of information and culture in union republics. We feel the time has come to raise the issue of representation of the USSR in international cultural, scientific, athletic, and other organizations at the level of the union republics.

The right of every person to live and work abroad if he wishes and the right to return to the homeland afterward should be constitutionally guaranteed.

The need has arisen to adopt a law on federal arrangement of the multinational socialist state, which would define the jurisdiction of all the national-state structures of the Soviet Union and would be aimed at protecting and developing the ethnic and cultural pluralism of our society.

So that all the constitutional propositions are set down in legislation and actually enforced, the all-union legal code is in need of review and revision, and the enforcement of specific laws needs a reliable system of social monitoring, including a Constitutional Court, which would preclude the possibility of violation of legality by legislative and law enforcement authorities.

2. On behalf of practical implementation of the principles of socialist democracy, we propose adoption at the party conference of a fundamental decision concerning the need for radical and immediate change of the electoral system. We consider the most essential provisions of that system to be the practical realization of the freedom to nominate candidates for deputy, repeal of the prescriptions concerning the membership of soviets which are bureaucratic in practice, and also guaranteeing the possibility of a real choice among different candidates. It would be advisable to grant to the union republics the right to work out their own provisions concerning elections on the basis of general principles, taking into account the level of political sophistication and character of democratic traditions in the specific republics. In addition, there is a need to draw a clear line between the functions of party authorities and those of

soviet authorities, to broaden and guarantee the rights of soviets elected by the people, and to endow their activity with a certain permanency and professionalism.

The holding of referendums on the most important issues in the life of society at both the all-union level and also the level of the republic should be spelled out in legislation and guaranteed in practice.

3. The progress of restructuring has led us to the conviction that its success can be guaranteed only if a resolute attitude is taken by personnel both in the economy and in politics, if representatives of the young generation are brought into bodies of management, since the braking mechanisms activated every time a new initiative is taken indicate that a majority of the leaders, who are accustomed to the way of thinking and style of management of the times of the stagnation, are capable of becoming only verbally involved in restructuring.

It would be worthwhile at the All-Union Party Conference to give a fundamentally new thrust to democratic renewal of personnel, renouncing the prescriptions defined in terms of the party list of personnel. A person's competence, honesty, political sophistication, ability, and achievement must be the principal criteria of whether he is suitable for a position in our society. We consider it fundamentally important to restrict tenure of all elective positions in party and soviet bodies and also the respective staffs to two reporting periods.

4. Increasing mutual trust between the people and the holders of power is an essential cornerstone of restructuring. We propose to the conference that it set its sights on resolutely eliminating the secrecy in all spheres of our life, above all in the activity of party bodies and law enforcement agencies. We also consider it self-evident that full transcripts should be published of sessions of soviets and meetings of plenums of party committees. The time has come to carry out a reform of the activity of the courts and procurators' offices, to fully guarantee that presumption of innocence is observed, and the rights of the bar are broadened.

The question of guaranteeing fully open access of the people to reliable state statistics on all the parameters of our social and economic activity, public scrutiny of which may be restricted only by considerations of a defense nature, should be considered very important.

5. On behalf of moral atonement of guilt for the past and of averting lawlessness in the future, we consider it necessary to issue an assessment in the party conference of the Stalinist repressions as crimes against humanity, against the party, and Soviet power, of the administrative-bureaucratic system created in that period as betrayal of the basic principles of Marxism-Leninism. At the same time, it is necessary to accomplish and publicize the rehabilitation of all the innocent victims of that period and perpetuate their memory.

6. We consider it extremely necessary to consistently decentralize management of economic life on behalf of invigoration of the country's economic life, a sharp upsurge of the economic activity at the local level, reasonable use of natural resources, and a revelation of the creative potential of the entire people. The primacy of territorial administration over departmental management must become the basic principle of economic life in our country so that the population of the region or republic is the fully authorized master of the national wealth produced on that territory. Relations among the republics and regions must be structured on the principles of mutually advantageous equivalent exchange. It should be especially emphasized that a region that produces a particular product must first have an opportunity to completely satisfy its own needs for that product. Otherwise it would seem out of the question to achieve motivation of the producers as to the results of their own activity.

It is to that end that we propose that the principles of cost accounting and self-financing, including independence in writing their own budgets, be extended to the republics and other regions of the country. The proposal to this effect advanced by scientists of our republic has won the broad support of the people, and the scientific research that has been initiated would make it possible for ESSR to make the transition to full cost accounting even in the next 5-year planning period.

7. On behalf of radical improvement of ethnic relations in the country, it is particularly important to grant all nationalities living in the USSR full and effective independence in dealing with the issues of the national culture, education, the press, and other problems of intellectual life. The people of all nationalities must be guaranteed the right of unhindered use of their native language in all spheres of life within their own national territory, including, and this is self-evident, the right to receive education in their native language.

We hope that the 19th All-Union Party Conference will ensure the development in our country of an up-to-date socialist society based on the equality and friendship of peoples and economic efficiency. We assure you that the creative intelligentsia of Soviet Estonia will do everything within its power to achieve that goal.

07045

Estonians Want Economic Independence for Republic
*18000421 Tallinn SOVETSKAYA ESTONIYA
in Russian 26 May 88 p 3*

[Article by Yu. Kraft and Ya. Leimann under the "Toward the 19th All-Union Conference of the CPSU" rubric: "With a Constructive and Dynamic Economic Program!"]

[Text] In advance of the 19th All-Union Party Conference there has been a substantial increase in the activity and strengthening of the hopes for the future of all the

country's citizens, including those of Estonian SSR, and they have now reached their apex in electing delegates to the conference and in shaping the proposals which they are to present. A large number of constructive proposals worth carrying out have been made during the last year in the Estonian SSR. We have a valuable pool of ideas waiting to be applied.

We adhere to the opinion that the most important of those ideas is the basic and fundamental idea of establishing republic economic independence, of replacing administrative methods by economic methods of management, which needs to be implemented very soon. Our proposal is that it be the central idea which our republic's delegation substantiate and present at the party conference and that it advocate its very speedy implementation.

In the light of the real state of affairs we feel that this idea should be implemented in stages.

In the first stage, covering 1989 and 1990, the following:

- 1) the entire physical production of Estonian SSR would be subordinated to the republic (except the defense industry), including production based on minerals, that production programs of enterprises and farms be radically altered, guided by integration of science and production and nature, and the Law on the Enterprise fully introduced;
- 2) realization of all material values produced at enterprises under republic jurisdiction would be transferred to the jurisdiction of the republic, including its capability of dealing with all matters related to the proportions of intra- and extrarepublic sales on the basis of the market, the principle of mutual advantage and all-union state orders in a volume not to exceed 20-30 percent of the consumer goods produced;
- 3) the handling of all export and import operations conducted by enterprises and organizations of the republic and also use of incoming foreign exchange and organization of credit relations with foreign countries be transferred to the jurisdiction of the republic;
- 4) a procedure would be established whereby raw materials, supplies, and equipment could be freely purchased outside the republic, and all material values and services rendered outside the republic would be sold at negotiated prices so as to take into account the conditions on the market and price proportions.

In making these proposals we are guided by the fact that the revolutionary chain reaction in the economy needs a "critical mass" whose existence will be guaranteed by simultaneous and rapid realization of the ideas set forth above.

In the second stage, i.e., beginning with the 13th FYP, would come realization of the proposals ensuing from the draft now being prepared concerning the republic's full cost accounting, the conception of which should be set forth at the 19th Party Conference and its approval obtained. The draft of the decree on carrying out the republic's conversion to full cost accounting should be submitted to the 28th party congress.

In setting forth this two-stage constructive economic program, we are deeply convinced that restructuring can be accomplished in the various regions of the USSR at differing rates and with differing content. Efforts need to be made in the republic to introduce economic methods of management at a rate that exceeds the union rate, since implementation of all the decisions adopted up to now, including the decisions of the July Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee, has failed to achieve a radical turnaround in the economy.

It has to be explained at the 19th Party Conference that Estonian SSR is potentially ready for a bold risk. In case of success, Estonian SSR would become a truly experimental union republic, and it would disseminate the practice of economic activity at a higher level to the other union republics.

In carrying out the economic program that has been set forth, reliance should be placed on the changes that have already been initiated in the economy, on the programs for political change that are to be drafted at the 19th Party Conference and in subsequent stages, and V.I. Lenin's statement should be realized to the effect that "...the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics should be represented only concerning military and diplomatic relations, while the full independence of the individual people's commissariats should be established in all other relations" (V.I. Lenin, PSS, Vol 34, pp 361-362).

We adhere to the line that this kind of model of a future authentic union of soviet and socialist republics could be implemented even in the 1st half of the nineties if the people and the soviets they elect deem it necessary.

We hope that the upcoming plenum of the Estonian CP Central Committee will discuss the program proposed, that the delegation elected by the plenum will be quick to achieve the support of the republic's party organization and make proper preparations for a worthy defense of this program in Moscow at the 19th Party Conference, zealously seeking out even during the conference people of like mind and advocates from among the highest leaders and scientists of the Soviet Union.

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Estonian Komsomol Plenum Addresses Party Conference

18000572a Tallinn MOLODEZH ESTONII in Russian
1 Jun 88 p 1

[Unattributed Appeal to the 19th All-Union Party Conference]

[Text] We, the participants in the plenum of the Estonian Komsomol Central Committee, in recognizing that at the present stage of restructuring "Strategy is Being Transformed into Real Policy and into Real Processes in Society and Encompasses All Strata," we affirm our full support for the strategic course of the CPSU of restructuring the life of society.

In recent years, there have been significant changes in the atmosphere of political life with the widening of glasnost, democratization; and prerequisites have been created for fundamental changes in the economy. All of this has led ultimately to the strengthening of socialism and to an improvement in the life of the people.

However, we are concerned that many problems are being solved slowly. The more dynamic realization of restructuring is being impeded by the existing system of centralized administration both in the economic spheres as well as in other spheres of life. There must be a fundamental revision in the actual relationships between the party and state bodies and the social organizations. We feel that it is essential to bring the level of decision-taking as close as possible to the level of the realization of the decisions, leaving within the competence of the central bodies only the elaboration of a strategy for the development of the spheres of social life. We must also ensure the independence of all the subdivisions of society in the exercising of their functions. Only in this manner will we be able to achieve a situation where our words converge with our deeds.

We are hoping that the 19th Party Conference will further develop the Leninist principles of nationality policy.

The pattern of the growing role played by youth in the restructuring of society and the growth of its political awareness have brought about a need for a more precise and sound defining of the concept of the youth movement in the USSR, of the role and place of the Komsomol as a sociopolitical organization and the elaboration and implementation of a unified, effective youth policy.

In full accord with the instructions of V.I. Lenin that "we must unconditionally stand for the organizational independence of the Youth League..." we consider it essential to revise the practices of party leadership over the Komsomol. The CPSU should provide political leadership. The Komsomol, being a youth organization, should not copy the party in structure, functions and forms.

The Plenum of the Estonian Komsomol Central Committee is submitting for review to the 19th All-Union Party Conference the following proposals:

1. Proceeding from the concept stated in the Preamble of the CPSU By-Laws that "the CPSU, in remaining in its class essence, the ideology of the working class, have become a party of all the people," to carry out in practice the admission to the CPSU in terms of ideological conviction and not from social status.
2. In the aim of broadening intraparty democracy and increasing the responsibility of the primary party organizations, to grant the latter the right of final acceptance of the candidate CPSU members.
3. In considering the place and role of the CPSU in the political system of Soviet society, it is essential to publicize party activities more widely and profoundly: in holding party plenums, conferences and congresses, all the speeches should be published without cuts in the party press, and direct television and radio broadcasts should be organized; there should be fuller coverage of the sessions of the Politburo and Secretariat of the CPSU Central Committee as well as the elective bodies of the local party organizations and the positions of their members on discussed questions.
4. In understanding the importance of the decisions of the 19th Party Conference for the future of the party and all society, we propose a broad discussion of the draft decisions of the party conference in the primary party organizations and the labor collectives. For this the 19th Party Conference should be held in two stages with an interval between of 2 or 3 months.
5. The analysis made by the April (1985) Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee, the 27th CPSU Congress and the subsequent party forums of the state of Soviet society, the course of restructuring in political, economic and social spheres and the necessity of lifting the obstacle standing on the path of revolutionary progress and the making of this irreversible demand the incorporation of a number of supplements and amendments in the nation's Basic Law, the USSR Constitution.

We propose that the 19th All-Union Party Conference recommend to the USSR Supreme Soviet that a commission be set up to review proposals on supplements and amendments in the USSR Constitution, in presenting these for extensive discussion by all the people.

6. The functions and independence of the Komsomol should be reinforced and guaranteed along with the party as the center of the political system and the leading and directing force of Soviet society. We propose that the relationships of the CPSU and the Komsomol be analyzed and recommend that the CPSU Central Committee and the Komsomol Central Committee work out and adopt a joint document on party and Komsomol relationships.

7. In full accord with the instructions of V.I. Lenin that "we must stand unconditionally for the organizational independence of the Youth League..." we feel it necessary to incorporate the following supplements and amendments in the CPSU By-Laws:

- The phrase "the Komsomol organizations must be active proponents of party ideas in all spheres of production and social life" (Chapter VIII, paragraph 64) should be changed to "the Komsomol organizations must actively carry out the CPSU Program in all spheres of production and social life";
- The first section of paragraph 65 of Chapter VIII ("The Komsomol works under the leadership of the CPSU. The work of the local Komsomol organizations is directed and supervised by the corresponding republic, kray, oblast, okrug, city and rayon party organizations") should read as follows: "The Komsomol works under the political leadership of the CPSU. The work of the local Komsomol organizations is directed by the appropriate republic, kray, oblast, okrug, city and rayon party organizations."
- 8. In recognition not in words but in deed the objective pattern of the growing role of the youth in the life of our society, at the present stage it is essential to elaborate a unified and effective youth policy of the CPSU and the Soviet government as a method for the conscious implementation of this pattern.
- Within the context of the shaping of youth policy, we feel it essential to adopt a Youth Law which would reflect the main rights and duties of the youth, would create a unified legal concept for implementing youth policy and become a legal basis for carrying out the programs involving work with the youth. For realizing a youth policy we propose establishing a state body for youth affairs.
- 9. In order to release the creative forces of the people as the master of their land and to defend the natural resources against their squandering in departmental interests and to ensure the normalization of international relations as well as the opportunities for a correct correlation of the contribution by each region, enterprise and workers to increasing general prosperity, we propose, in working out the strategy for the economic development of the Soviet Union, the adoption of a principle of regional, including republic, cost accounting.
- 10. In the aim of increasing the information reaching the public and for raising their political and economic culture, we consider it essential to publish regularly in the mass press data relating to all areas of our social and economic activities, with the exception of data the publishing of which would represent a direct threat to the state security of the nation.

11. We feel it essential to consistently carry out a policy of decentralizing the leadership of the cultural sphere both on the all-Union and republic levels. The functions and rights of the all-Union firms and organizations in the cultural area should be turned over to the republic departments.

12. On the basis of a statewide concept of education, we feel it essential to give all republics and regions of the nation the right independently to work out a unified regional educational policy in line with the specific socioeconomic conditions and historical traditions.

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**Platform of Estonian 'Popular Front' Published
WA1800042 Tallinn SOVETSKAYA ESTONIYA
in Russian 7 Jun 88 p 2**

[Text of "Popular Front" platform published under the rubric "Toward the 19th All-Union Party Conference": "Citizen Initiative..."]

[Text] 1. The Popular Front is a democratic movement based on citizen initiative. Its primary goal is to realize the will of the people via elective soviet organs and public control of the activities of the most important organs and the state apparatus.

2. The creation of a Popular Front is motivated by the necessity of putting into motion a democratic mechanism for radical reforms in order to effectively promote the implementation of the CPSU policy of perestroyka in economic, socio-political and cultural life, to jointly resist attempts by the bureaucracy to preserve and restore the forms of leadership of public life which were characteristic of Stalinism and the time of stagnation, and to fight against corruption and the abuse of power.

3. The Popular Front unites and coordinates the initiatives of various societies, clubs, labor collectives, and other groups for implementing the policy of perestroyka, the battle against Stalinism and the administrative economic system. The Popular Front unites the inhabitants of Estonia of all nationalities. The socio-political platform for Popular Front activities is based on the problems expressed in the appeal to the 19th party conference adopted at the joint plenum of the leadership of the ESSR Creative Unions, and in the open letter to the governing organs of the ESSR. The economic platform of the Popular Front is based on the shift to full economic accountability in the Estonian SSR.

4. The slogans of the Popular Front are socialist democracy and pluralism, political and economic sovereignty of the union republics, cultural autonomy of all nationalities, the protection of civil rights, and the interests of working people.

5. The primary cells in the organizational structure of the Popular Front are support groups formed on the initiative of citizens at enterprises, in organizations, societies, cooperatives, associations, or place of residence. The activities of the support groups are coordinated by regional soviets of authorized representatives. The representatives are elected in the support groups by secret ballot.

To ensure that the representatives have direct contact with all members of the group, it is recommended that at large enterprises and organizations several small support groups be formed instead of one large one. The highest organ of the Popular Front is a general assembly of authorized representatives (national congress). The Popular Front would be led by a collegial organ (republic soviet of authorized representatives) elected at the congress.

6. The Popular Front is not subordinate to any other organization or body, and it does not determine the activity of organizations and associations attached to it beyond the general actions of the Popular Front and the goals and forms of its activity agreed upon in the organs of the Popular Front. The influence of the CPSU is ensured through democratic means by the political convictions of Communists participating in the Popular Front.

7. The basic goals and forms of activity of the Popular Front are the organization of cooperation between electors and deputies (meetings with deputies, inquiries, etc.); participation in election campaigns (nominating candidates, compiling mandates, etc.); presenting reports and submitting proposals to soviet organs; public discussion of resolutions and draft proposals; preparing referendums, etc. The Popular Front actively takes part in improving the electoral system, in transforming clubs of electors into constantly active public authorities. Representatives of the Popular Front take part in the work of electoral commissions.

8. A condition for participating in the activity of the Popular Front is the active and purposeful support of the CPSU policy of perestroyka. The expression of conservative, Stalinist points of view and support of an administrative economic system are not compatible with the work of the Popular Front. Participation in the activities of the Popular Front is not limited by party membership, nationality or religious conviction.

9. Leadership posts in the Popular Front cannot be combined with important staff positions in the party, Komsomol, trade union or state apparatus.

10. The activity of the Popular Front and all its organs is public and takes place in strict accordance with the Constitution and the laws of the Estonian SSR.

11. The Popular Front considers it necessary to publish an information bulletin, "Bulletin of the Popular Front" ["Vestnik Narodnogo Fronta"], and establish its own publishing organ.

12. The Popular Front is a legal entity and has its own clearing account. The material resources of the Popular Front will come from the sales of publications and other items, and from voluntary contributions. The use of resources will be monitored by an auditing commission chosen at the national congress.

Estonian CC Buro Sets Forth Proposals for Republic's Conference Platform
18000494a Tallinn SOVETSKAYA ESTONIYA in Russian 11 Jun 88 pp 1-2

[Unattributed report: "Main Proposals for the Platform of the Republic Party Organization for the 19th All-Union Party Conference"]

[Text] The Estonian Communist Party Central Committee Buro presents for discussion by communists and all workers in the republic The Main Proposals for the Platform of the Republic Party Organization for the 19th All-Union Party Conference, received from the primary party organizations, party gorkoms and raykoms, and individual communists via the mass media, and generalized giving due consideration to the opinion of those attending the Estonian Communist Party Central Committee 9th Plenum.

In publishing these proposals the Estonian Communist Party Central Committee Buro suggests that the public in the republic express its opinion on these proposals, after which, on this basis the platform will be built for the republic party organization. It will be published in the press.

Discussion of the CPSU Central Committee Theses in the party organizations and labor collectives shows that the workers fully share the proposition in the Theses that the aim of perestroika is to reveal fully the humane nature and creative power of socialism.

The course toward perestroika and toward acceleration of the country's socioeconomic development is linked closely with the democratization of Soviet society and with affirmation of socialist self-management by the people, and with glasnost and the development of criticism and self-criticism.

The workers note that the life of the state and of all the union republics should be realized on democratic bases, with the involvement of the broad public in the resolution of national problems. It is essential consistently to implement the Leninist principles of socialist statehood, make the process of democratization legislatively irreversible, and complete the formation of the socialist legal state.

It is emphasized that it is essential to rid ourselves irrevocably of everything associated with the consequences of personality cult, stagnation phenomena, command-administrative methods in management and bureaucracy, and the absence of Leninist norms in party and state life.

I. Further Improving Regional Management

In the development of party and government decisions to improve the activity of the republic management organs it is proposed to continue work to improve the economic mechanism and management in order significantly to expand regional economic self-management on a cost-accounting basis.

To introduce the following proposals to extend the rights of the union republics in the field of state management, planning and finances, and enhance their responsibility for the status and development of the national economy:

—many matters involving economic management should be transferred from all-union competence and from the joint competence of the USSR and union republics to the competence of the republics, having made appropriate changes to Article 73 of the USSR Constitution. Thus, it is necessary to transfer to republic control basic questions concerned with defining the structure and activities of republic and local organs of state power and management, and also key leadership functions in the economies of the republics and the resolution of questions concerning the setting of prices and rates and wages and financial and credit policy within the limits of the assets earned by the republics.

At the same time it is proposed that the concept of state property be concretized, having established in the USSR Constitution that all the country's state property (with the exception of the defense sphere) consists of the state property of all the union republics, which are equal managers of this property on their own territories and meet their obligations to the all-union organs in the economic sphere according to agreements defining mutual relations between the two parties, on a cost-accounting basis.

—in order to insure more efficient management of the economy and the social sphere in the republics and to make more comprehensive and rational use of regional resources the competence of the all-union departments should be restricted on the territories of the republics. It is necessary to establish a specific mechanism to regulate mutual relations between the union republic councils of ministers and the all-union and union-republic ministries and departments, bearing in mind, in particular, the following:

—that there be a significant contraction of the range of questions subject to mandatory agreement by the union republic councils of ministers and USSR ministries and departments;

—that competence be redistributed between the central organs of the USSR and union republics in certain sectors of the national economy by transferring a number of economic functions of the all-union and union-republic ministries and departments in the corresponding regions to the control of the union republic councils of ministers so as to insure a decisive influence on and full responsibility for fulfillment of the Food Program and Housing Program, the production of consumer goods, and development in the services sphere in the republics. There should be a review of questions of improving the entire system of the USSR central management organs with a view to significantly reducing the number of all-union ministries and departments; while in the relations with enterprises of all-union subordination, most of them should be transferred to republic subordination;

—that legal guarantees be established for the union republic councils of ministers that prevent enforceable enactments issued by USSR ministries and departments from including mandatory prescriptions and instructions for the union republic councils of ministers;

—that a mechanism be established to bring influence to bear on USSR ministries and departments in the event of their failure to observe procedure laid down for agreeing their decisions that affect the national economy and population of the republics with the councils of ministers of the appropriate union republics.

The competence of the union republics should be significantly extended in the sphere of legislation. For the purpose of more flexible and varied legal regulation of matters concerning management of the economy and social sphere it is advisable to determine that only the establishment general principles of legislation should fall within the competence of the USSR Supreme Soviet.

In order to strengthen the constitutional guarantees for the rights of the union republics Article 74 of the USSR Constitution should be augmented with a clause stating that in the event of discrepancy between all-union and republic law the all-union law shall prevail but that this rule does not extend to cases in which a law of the USSR or other enforceable enactment issued by an all-union organ infringes on the constitutional rights of a union republic.

At the same time it is necessary to lay down procedure for reviewing such disputes, making provision that when such contradictions are revealed, the final evaluation of the legality of the disputed USSR and republic enforceable enactments will be made by a constitutional court of the USSR under the USSR Supreme Soviet made up equally of representatives of all the union republics.

A special USSR law should be drawn up on Soviet federation, in which mutual relations between the union republics themselves and between the union republics

and the country's central organs would be regulated in detail, provision made for mutual rights and obligations in the resolution of questions concerning the management by the country and republics (including principles for determining the subordination of the various sectors of the national economy within the country and within the republics, the limits of legislative independence for the republics and so forth), and the status of the official language in the union republics defined.

A mechanism should be put in place to insure ecological balance in economic decisionmaking. The management system for the use of natural resources should be based on an economic mechanism and the regional approach. Effective planning and management in the sphere of the use of natural resources can be achieved only given the creation of an economic mechanism that makes it possible to combine the cost-accounting interests of economic cells with national goals in this field. Natural resources and the quality of the environment should be included in the system of economic relations.

Provision should be made for the introduction of payments for all natural resources and for pollutants ejected into the environment, and such payments should reflect the socially necessary costs of insuring the normative condition of the environment.

It is advisable to separate state environmental protection organs from the executive organs and subordinate them to the organs of soviet power. It is proposed that legislative activity concerning the utilization and protection of natural resources be transferred mainly to the competence of the republics so that more consideration can be given to regional interests, the level of development in production forces and the status of nature.

II. Democratization of Intraparty Life

The proposals note that in the light of perestroyka the role of the CPSU as the leading and organizing force in Soviet society is being presented in a new way. This assumes further development of the basic principles of party building and improvements in the forms and methods of party work.

It is emphasized in particular that further development of the principle of democratic centralism is still being hampered by the preferential use of one of its components, namely, centralism. Accordingly, the discussion and debate on the various opinions and the adoption of decisions on the basis of this makes it possible to enhance the role of the democratic component of the main organizational principle in the building of the CPSU.

In party work (as in any other) today it is impossible to rely on rigid centralization. It is necessary to achieve a discipline that is conscious rather than deformed and centralized. The concepts of political leadership and political power should not be confused.

Delineation of the Functions of Party and State Organs and Economic Organizations and Using Political Methods To Strengthen Influence on Socioeconomic and Cultural Development

The proposals state that the main brake slowing the enhancement of the role of the party as society's political leader has become the fact that the party organizations take upon themselves the resolution of many economic questions, and that there is no clear-cut delineation of their functions and the functions of soviet, state and economic organs.

It is proposed that in fact all power be concentrated in the hands of the soviets of people's deputies and their responsibility enhanced for the resolution of economic and social questions on their own territories. It is important to insure real independence for enterprises in resolving economic questions strictly in accordance with the USSR Law on the State Enterprise (Association).

It is noted that party organs must decisively move away from petty tutelage and deal directly with party-political work, whose main object of attention should be some specific person. The party organizations are called upon to influence the activity of the soviet, trade union, Komsomol and economic organs through the communists working in them.

In the opinion of many communists the following issues should be raised at the 19th All-Union CPSU Conference:

—party committees should focus attention on monitoring and analyzing the way in which both state and soviet and economic organs pursue the political line of the party in questions of economic, social and cultural development. To this end there should be a significant expansion of the practice of personal accountability reports from communists in leading positions about the fulfillment of decisions and directives issued by the party and government;

—the practice of adopting joint resolutions on strictly economic issues that duplicate at the local level the decrees adopted by the CPSU Central Committee and USSR Council of Ministers should be abandoned, as should the adoption of resolutions by party committees that contain direct instructions for state and economic organs and public organizations.

Extending the Rights and Independence of Republic, City and Rayon Party Organizations

It is proposed that at the 19th All-Union Party Conference a review be conducted of the question of the status of the central committees of the union republic communist parties (which are still mainly equated with party kraykoms and obkoms).

The opinion has been expressed that it is possible to set up a Consultative Council under the CPSU Central Committee Politburo to include the first secretaries of the union republic communist party central committees. It is proposed that cuts be made in the number of instructions "issued from above" to lower party organizations on the implementation of general measures and the discussion of decrees and materials. A determination should be made (or a special stipulation made) concerning which of the decrees issued by the party and its leading organs (congress materials, CPSU Central Committee plenums, CPSU Central Committee decrees on the republic party organization) that should be discussed everywhere on a mandatory basis, and which should simply be adopted for execution or for information and orientation.

In connection with the extension of the independence of enterprises and associations, the changes in and contraction of the functions of all-union ministries and departments, and work in the republic on an optimal structure for the management of the national economy, it is proposed that significant changes be made in the structure of the Estonian Communist Party Central Committee apparatus, abolishing sector departments and leaving the subdivisions that insure the work of the central committee as the elected organ of political leadership (economic analysis of the situation, work on political decisions, work with cadres, organizational backing for the fulfillment of decisions adopted).

Freeing up the apparatus of the party committees from the functions not peculiar to them, bringing their structures into line with the tasks of political leadership, and eliminating excess centralization in the resolution of these questions will, depending on specific local conditions, make it possible to free up some workers. In the opinion of many communists it is important to provide greater freedom for party committees to dispose both of the established wages fund and make savings in it. This will provide an opportunity, first, to establish differentiated wages as a function of a worker's professional training and the specific results of labor. Second, it will be possible to form various ad hoc working groups to work on a particular problem and to invite highly skilled experts to participate in their work. Third, using part of the savings from the wages fund to increase salaries for positions will make it possible to attract into the apparatus higher-level experts from the sphere of material production.

In order to extend the rights and independence of city and rayon party organizations it is proposed that at the next party congress changes be made to the CPSU Rules. In particular it is essential to provide a clear-cut formulation of when city and rayon party committees have the right to organize debate on questions of party policy on the basis of proposals from several party organizations.

Extending the Rights of Primary Party Organizations and Further Developing the Norms of Intraparty Life

The proposals emphasize that, proceeding from the tasks of the CPSU as the political vanguard, and from the

profound changes taking place in society, there should be a review of the activity of the primary party organizations, which are called on to play in full measure the role of political nucleus in the labor collectives. Here, they should not substitute for the labor collectives and their organs in resolving questions relating to the competence of the latter. The main criterion for strengthening the primary party organizations should be not the number of members and the measures implemented but the level of party influence in the labor collective and on all sections of it.

A review should be conducted and steps taken aimed at extending the rights of the primary party organizations.

It is proposed that the total number of meetings of communists in all primary party organizations should be at least 6 times annually.

The opinion is being expressed that at enterprises and organizations, party committees should be set up depending not on the number of party organizations but by giving due consideration to the total number of workers.

Numerous proposals and comments have also been made on questions concerning party membership, amounting essentially to the need to abandon mechanical regulation of growth and the social makeup of the party ranks.

It is particularly emphasized that at this stage in the development of our society, the attitude of the individual toward perestroika and personal participation in it are of great importance.

The following proposals are therefore made:

—to recommend to the next party congress that it strengthen the thesis that the party gorkoms and raykoms and the primary party organizations resolve specific questions concerning the augmentation of the party ranks depending on the features of the collectives, giving due consideration to their social and national makeup and the actual requirements for fresh party forces;

—to give the primary party organizations where there are committees or buros, the right themselves to make final decisions on the question of the admission of candidates as members of the CPSU;

—to introduce just one procedure for the admission of candidates and members of the CPSU;

—to abandon written recommendations for those joining the party. Those making recommendations should confirm them using their own information from the questionnaire completed and signed by the party applicant;

—to give the primary party organizations the right as required to extend to 2 years the candidate stage for those joining the CPSU.

This would legitimize the extension of the candidate period in connection with transfer from one organization to another (because of sickness, or if claims are made against the candidate and so forth). The extension would be made with the permission of the party commission in the party gorkom or raykom, or a party committee with the rights of a raykom;

—to recommend to the CPSU congress that it strengthen in the CPSU Rules the provision on the mandatory nature of accountability reports from all party candidate members on their passage through the candidate stage at party meetings in their own organization;

—to make provision in the CPSU Rules for the possibility of leaving the party by personal application from persons who have telling reasons for so doing (because of extreme old age, irreversible deterioration of health) or from persons who have proved not to be up to the new level of requirements made on communists under the conditions of perestroika.

It is also proposed that the status of honorary member of the CPSU be introduced for communists who with the onset of extreme age or because of irreversibly deteriorating health are unable to participate permanently and actively in the work of the primary party organization but would like to remain in the party. This title would be awarded to people for vigorous party activeness who have seniority of 30 years or more, and they would pay only symbolic dues.

In some cases (for example, traffic accidents, production accidents, and other accidents and so forth) it is necessary to resolve the question of whether communists against whom criminal cases are brought should remain in the party.

In this connection proposals have been made to add to Paragraph 10 of the CPSU Rules, as follows: "In exceptional cases the primary party organization can decide to suspend the rights of a party member before the final ascertainment of his guilt under the law."

It is proposed that provision be made in the CPSU Rules for a clear-cut formulation of the status of the territorial primary party organizations and their rights and obligations.

Questions concerning members' party dues make up a separate group. They include opinions expressed on the need for the following:

—to introduce a single rate for members' dues and to lower the upper limit;

—to leave a specified proportion of members' dues at the disposal of the primary party organizations for current needs, and also to provide incentive for secretaries doing their work on a public basis.

The Growing Role of Elected Party Organs, Their Rights and Obligations and Their Relations with the Apparatus. Extending Glasnost in the Formation of These Organs

It is proposed that the CPSU Rules be amended with provisions insuring the democratization in practice of the processes whereby elected party organs are formed at all levels, in particular the following:

- to introduce direct voting by secret ballot for first leaders in party organs (from the party buro secretary in the primary party organization to the CPSU Central Committee general secretary);
- to set a maximum term for all elected party leaders, without exception;
- to set a single retirement age for all party leaders.

Broad support has been expressed for the proposals in the CPSU Central Committee Theses to revert to city and rayon accountability-and-election party conferences once every 5 years, and at the same time to introduce yearly accountability reports on their activities for the gorkom and raykom buros at plenums, and to make provision for the possibility of renewing the makeup of an elected organ by at least one-third during the period between conferences.

It is noted that a review is needed of the mechanism whereby the makeup of party committees is formed, and that it is essential to extend glasnost to this work, and the participation in it of communists from the primary party organizations from where election candidates are registered.

Doubt is cast on the existing practice by which all the leaders of ministries and departments and enterprises and farms are elected to elected party organs; this significantly narrows the social base for representation in them of categories such as teachers, medical workers, workers in the services sphere and transport, agricultural specialists, engineering and technical workers and junior scientists.

It is necessary to provide guarantees for renewal of the party and state apparatus at all levels in the form of strengthening these provisions in the CPSU Rules and in the legislation, including the Constitution.

It is proposed that as a rule elections for leaders in the party committees should be from two or more candidates, and that candidates should be given an opportunity before the elections to meet with communists in the primary party organizations.

The opinion is also being expressed that not only the status of a member of an elected party organ should be defined and sealed in the CPSU Rules but also a general provision on the elected party organs at various levels, identifying their goals and tasks and rights and obligations.

It is proposed that the work of elected party organs (central committees, gorkoms, raykoms) be organized on the principles of the activity of standing commissions for specific purposes: for example,

- organizational-party, ideological work, political leadership in economic activity, public organizations and so forth. These commissions should be led by the secretaries of the party committee, buro members or committee members. These commissions should not include workers in the apparatus, who will carry out executive work.

Members of elected organs who make up the standing commissions would be authorized to set tasks for the departments and exercise control over their fulfillment, make decisions and discuss which questions to bring up in the buro and at plenums.

One possible variant is to set up a control organ for the work of the apparatus, made up of members of elected organs.

Proposals have been made that party officials should be registered in the party organizations from where they were promoted. A procedure whereby members of elected party organs inform communists in their own primary party organizations about questions considered at plenums, decisions adopted, and the nature of the proposals they themselves put forward, should be established. They should render an account of their own work at least once every year.

It is proposed to extend the practice of accountability reports for the members of elected party organs at plenums and meetings of the buros about their own personal contribution to the fulfillment of adopted decisions. The members of elected party organs should inform the buros in cases in which decisions are being fulfilled without the proper persistence and where perestroika processes are being hampered.

The party aktiv is expressing the opinion that it is necessary to lower the normativ used to set the rates for secretaries freed up from party organizations, giving party gorkoms and raykoms the right themselves to transfer them as required to organizations in which they are specially needed.

Some communists propose that before appointing someone to work in the apparatus it would be useful to discuss the worker in the primary party organization at an open party meeting where he could be evaluated as a political leader and a determination made of whether he could be

a worker in the apparatus of the particular organ, and opinions could be expressed on his organizational capabilities and human qualities.

The opinion is being expressed that it is necessary for plenums of the CPSU Central Committee and of the union republic communist party central committees, and the plenums of party gorkoms and raykoms be conducted publicly and openly, with publication in the press not only of the official reports but also the reports and texts of those speaking, and of the resolutions adopted.

III. Party Work under the Conditions of the New Ideological-Political Situation in Society

In the opinion of many communists, under present conditions the main tasks of party organizations' ideological work should be as follows:

- to shape a Marxist-Leninist world outlook of the new type in political and economic thinking, free from the distortions of the period of personality cult and stagnation and oriented on strengthening the sense of being master in one's own country, and on the constructive approach to any problem and free, creative thinking by each member of society;
- to create conditions for open discussion and comparison of ideas and interests;
- to mobilize people to solve the tasks of perestroyka, namely, effecting radical economic reform and the democratization and humanization of our society in every possible way;
- it is emphasized that it is essential to conduct a substantial and well-considered review of the theoretical propositions of past decades and return to the Marxist-Leninist view on fundamental issues such as socialist statehood, democratic centralism, intraparty democracy, the sovereignty of the union republics, and social justice in distribution relations both at the level of the individual and collective and at the interrepublic level.

In order to resolve these tasks it is necessary to effect a fundamental reform in ideological work that should insure that its forms and methods are in line with the fundamentally new condition of society.

In this reform it is essential to be free from subjectivism and to achieve a more clear-cut attitude toward the processes taking place in society. Their timely recognition, investigation of the reasons for phenomena, and drawing up proposals with the help of experts and the realization of those proposals are possible only in an atmosphere of total glasnost.

Communists emphasize that the development of intra-party democracy assumes for each party committee and each party organization a need to reveal the real problems in specific conditions, and by proceeding from this to define the content of ideological activity.

In many letters and comments citizens note that at the present stage of perestroyka, within the republic there are problems associated with the re-assessment of historical events, the role of various figures in history, the development of culture and national self-awareness, and the prospects for the further sovereign existence and development of the Estonian nation and its relationships with people of other nationalities living in the republic, resulting from the development of democracy and glasnost and the sharply growing politicization of all public life, and ecological questions, first and foremost those arising because of the irrational location of production forces, lagging in technical progress and the problems of regional republic cost accounting. It is proposed that all these things be taken into account when the platform for the republic party organization is drawn up.

The political line and the evaluation of new ideas should be worked out collectively, giving due consideration to public opinion as revealed by current sociological studies, and at meetings of communists and other public organizations and formations; and on specific issues by referendum. The collegial organs—the Estonian Communist Party Central Committee, the Supreme Soviet, the Council of Ministers, the Komsomol Central Committee, the trade union council—should each make appropriate decisions on questions falling within their competence and on the basis of public opinion and consultation with experts, which through ideological means (first and foremost the mass media) should be explained and argued and brought to the public attention; and then, with help from the public, they should monitor execution of their own decisions and directives. When this is done, research conclusions and proposals put forward at meetings should be made public and commented upon by experts so that the public can be given an opportunity to assess how far to consider any proposals when decisions are made.

Many proposals have been put forward on the need to eliminate the contradiction inherent in the revolutionary nature of ideas and the evolutionary approach to their realization; which leads to leftist exaggeration in some initiators and conservatism in some executors, and to a gap between words and deeds.

The party organizations must be granted greater independence in defining the forms, means and methods of work, time periods and periodicity of measures connected with ideological activity. The main criterion of activeness in the efforts of a party organization to indoctrinate communists and all workers should be the re-orientation of public awareness to support the entire process of perestroyka.

In order to improve ideological work it is advisable that the public in the country and the regions should be entrusted with studying anew the most complex questions in the history of the party (the "blank spots", national relations and other urgent problems, and provide new training manuals for the system of political and economic training.

Many proposals have noted that the main form of political training for communists should be independent work monitored periodically by the party organization.

In order to provide full and comprehensive information for the public it is proposed that materials be published in the press on the activity of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and the USSR Council of Ministers and Supreme Soviet Presidium on preparations for and the resolution of the most important questions. It is essential to establish procedure for the election of editors and chief editors in press publications that are not organs of the party committees. The leaders of editorial offices for party publications should be elected only at congresses or plenums.

Inter-National Relations and the Development of Culture

Many of those making proposals believe that it is necessary to provide a clear and scientifically sound definition of the meaning of nationalism, national self-awareness and national pride. Theoretical definitions for these philosophical categories expressed in the party forum make it possible in practical work to define international processes more precisely than at present.

Many proposals concern the question of migration process—an important one from the standpoint of the national and ethnic makeup of the republic. It is noted that the all-union ministries' and departments' disregard of local economic, ecological and sociocultural needs and interests is leading, under the conditions of the multinational state, to an exacerbation of national relations in general and to dissatisfaction on the part of the local population with activity of all-union organs in particular. Resolution of these issues is possible only through the joint efforts of local and all-union organs.

A second key problem is that of Estonian-Russian and Russian-Estonian bilingualism. A number of proposals state that the all-union forum should outline practical ways to develop national languages.

In order to satisfy the cultural interests of all national groups living in the republic it is advisable to provide encouragement for their initiative in creating cultural centers that should become centers for propaganda of national Soviet culture and become yet another element linking the Estonian SSR with the other fraternal republics.

In the general context of the problem of the sovereignty of the union republics, questions associated with the need for decentralization in the existing system of international ties are being raised.

In particular, to provide a well-argued defense of the interests of the Soviet Union it is proposed that representatives of the Estonian SSR be given the opportunity to participate in international organizations engaged in dealing with questions concerning the Baltic region. In order to enhance the efficiency and economic interest of the Estonian SSR in developing foreign tourism it is advisable to make the existing system that provides services for tourists into a republic system.

It is also noted that it is essential to diversify the forms and methods of work with Estonians abroad. More extensive invitations to the republic should be extended to public and scientific figures of a realistic turn of mind, and also to businessmen from among Estonians living abroad. Open discussions should be conducted with reactionary emigre figures and the unsoundness of their positions should be convincingly and intelligibly shown.

IV. Restoring in Full the Role and Powers of the Soviets of People's Deputies As the Sovereign Organs of Popular Representation

Those offering proposals approve the CPSU Central Committee Theses on the real transfer of all power to the soviets. This assumes that both directly and through the organs that they create they should manage and organize the entire course of state, economic, and sociocultural development.

This can be realized in fact only on the condition of consistent implementation of the Leninist principle of the unity of legislation, management and control. Generalizing the proposals received on this question, the following can be distinguished:

—it is necessary to effect a radical change in the style of leadership of the soviets by the party. The party should implement its decisions through the communists elected to the soviets, within the framework of the USSR Constitution. The party should direct the activity of the soviets, not replace them;

—perestroyka in the activity of the soviets is linked inseparably with improvement of the electoral system.

The idea is being expressed that it is necessary to make radical and immediate changes in the electoral system. Here, its most important provision should be democratization of the procedure for the nomination of candidates for the posts of deputy, abandonment of the principle of selection by questionnaire to elected state organs and the pro forma representation of social groups, the organization of debate and public defense by candidates of their programs, and the opportunity for real choice from among different candidates.

The multiple-mandate system of elections tested as an experiment has helped to reveal effective new forms for the work of the soviets but at the same time it has not made it possible to resolve very important issues such as enhancing the responsibility of deputies to the electorate or strengthening the links between them. Reserve deputies have not found their place, and guarantees for their activity as deputies still remain ill-considered.

—the idea is being voiced everywhere of the professional activity of the soviets, by which is meant reducing the number of deputies and freeing them up (first and foremost the deputies of the supreme soviets) for longer periods from production work so that they may fulfill their obligations as deputies, and establishing deputies in their positions by providing a guaranteed wage. The opinion is being expressed that change in the structure of the Supreme Soviet will help in guaranteeing permanent work in the soviet for all deputies. Here, it is proposed that a significant cut-back be made in the number of staff soviet workers. Unanimous support is being expressed for the CPSU Central Committee Theses proposition on the impossibility of electing as deputies workers in management orders subordinate to the soviets.

It is also proposed that significant changes be made in the structure of city and rayon soviets and their executive organs, proceeding from the urgent tasks in any given territory. Thus, for example, it is proposed that a representative of the soviet acting as a proxy for the population be appointed in each village. In addition, the question is being insistently raised of guaranteeing the material and financial independence of local soviets, and also extension of their competence on their own territory.

—it is obvious that there is an urgent need to introduce amendments and changes in the USSR Constitution and the Constitution of the Estonian SSR that would strengthen the concept of perestroyka.

The proposals attach great importance to constitutional guarantees for parity rights of the union republics in the formation of central management organs, and to significant expansion of the practical participation by union republics in the resolution of national economic and political questions and USSR representation abroad.

Perestroyka in the Activity of Public Organizations

Many of those offering proposals proceed from the CPSU Central Committee Theses that the political system of socialism cannot function in a full-blooded manner without relying on the extensive network of public organizations through which the interests of various social, professional and age groups among the country's population are expressed and realized.

In the processes of perestroyka an important place is assigned to the trade unions, Komsomol, cooperatives and other public organizations, scientific societies and creative unions, which should be restructured by thinking out their positions and roles anew and revealing more fully their possibilities under the new conditions.

It is noted that in order to realize in practice the principles of socialist democracy in the trade union movement the following are essential:

—making principled decisions on the status of the trade unions in the political system of our society. Here there must be more precise definitions of the functions of the trade unions and the forms by which they interact with the organs of state power and economic management. Party leadership should be effected only through communists working in the trade unions;

—it would be advisable to increase the representation of the trade unions in the organs of state power (particularly at the union-republic and all-union level) and to guarantee for trade unions the right of free nomination of their own deputies to the soviets;

—it is essential to take steps to decentralize the entire system of management, including for the trade unions. Territorial, intersector trade union organs (the trade union councils) should be given rights guaranteeing the influence of the trade unions in the management of the republic's affairs;

—in connection with the development of public self-management by the workers and the creation of the labor collectives' councils, it is advisable to regulate specifically the trade union functions associated with responsibility for the economic activity of the labor collectives. The efforts of the trade unions should be oriented primarily on development in the social sphere and on safeguarding the legitimate interests of trade union members.

It is necessary to extend the range of workers enjoying the right of protection by the trade unions. The existing lists of workers' duties for which trade union protection is unavailable are not in line with the principles of social justice.

—the trade union councils should be given the right independently to establish and develop ties with trade union centers abroad;

—support should be given to proposals from workers on mandatory preliminary broad debate, and when necessary referendums, when decisions are being made that affect the vital interests of workers and the entire population.

Many proposals deal with the Komsomol, and it is noted that perestroyka in its activities is proceeding slowly, and that this is largely explained by the habits of old methods

in resolving new tasks and inadequate political experience, and, in this connection, also boldness and persistence in resolving the tasks that arise.

At the same time another aspect of this question is noted, namely, the lack of definition for the role and place of the Komsomol as representative of the interests of the various youth strata within our society's political system. Hence also the excessively regulated nature of relations between the party and the Komsomol. The thought is being insistently expressed that the Komsomol should be freed of extreme tutelage, possess full independence in the resolution of youth questions, and operate under the ideological leadership of the CPSU and not be a carbon copy of the content, forms and methods of party work. Party leadership in the Komsomol should be exercised mainly through young communists working in the Komsomol. Taking into account the special features of the present nature of the youth movement, it is proposed that the status of the Komsomol be changed in such a way that it becomes a real youth organization.

Youth policy should become a special direction in the activity of the party and state. Proposals are being made concerning the need to adopt a youth law. It is also proposed that a state organ for youth affairs be set up that would implement youth social programs and coordinate work with youth through the ministries and departments, cooperating closely with youth organizations and movements when so doing.

It is a matter of some urgency to introduce amendments in the Constitution on the status of public organizations and other forms of civic initiative, and legal guarantees for their participation in the management of public and state affairs.

Public independent movements should have a clear-cut program defining the ways for participation by particular strata of society and the representatives of specific categories of the population in the realization of the political, economic and social program for the development of society. The communist party is called upon to exercise political leadership in all public movements and political, cooperative and other organizations formed on the basis of civic initiative.

Within the central committee, party gorkoms and raykoms and ministries and departments it would be possible to set up expert sponsoring groups that on the basis of study of problems and existing opportunities could prepare proposals for party and soviet organs on urgent questions. These groups could also become support groups within the framework of a democratic alliance of public forces.

We request that proposals and comments on the CPSU Central Committee Theses for the 19th All-Union Party Conference be sent to the Estonian Communist Party

Central Committee or the Consultation Office at the following address: Tallinn, Sakala Street No 3, House of Political Enlightenment of the Estonian Communist Party Central Committee.

09642

Fundamental Provisions of Estonian Conference Platform Published

18000531 Tallinn SOVETSKAYA ESTONIYA in Russian 18 Jun 88 pp 1-2

[Article "Fundamental Provisions of the Platform of the Delegation of the Republic Party Organization to the 19th All-Union Party Conference"]

[Text] As already reported, meetings of delegates from the Estonian SSR to the 19th All-Union Party Conference have been held. They discussed the fundamental provisions of the platform of the delegation of the republic party organization to the 19th All-Union Party Conference. A draft of the document is published below.

To approve the Theses of the CPSU Central Committee and the 19th All-Union Party Conference. On the basis of them and considering the proposals received from republic party organizations, work collectives and working commissions created under the Estonian CP Central Committee, the Presidium of the EsSSR Supreme Soviet and EsSSR Council of Ministers, and in an effort to contribute to the elaboration of decisions designed to effect radical reforms in all spheres of our life, to propose the following provisions for the discussion of the party conference in the name of the republic party organization:

I. In the area of economics:

—to secure the transition, starting with the 13th Five-Year Plan, to economic self-management and khozraschet that combine local and nationwide interests. To formulate a USSR law that would regulate in detail the interactions of union republics with one another and with the country's central bodies, that would make provision for mutual rights and obligations on matters relating to the government of the country and republics (including the principles governing the determination of the subordination of various branches of the national economy in the country and in republics, the limits of legislative independence of republics, etc.);

—the functions of economic management (with the exception of the defense sphere) should be transferred from all-union competence and from the joint competence of the USSR and union republics to the competence of republics. The resolution of problems relating to the establishment of prices, rates, wages, financial and credit policy within the limits of produced national income must be transferred to the charge of republics;

—to concretize the concept of state property in the USSR, to specify in the Constitution of the USSR that the country's state property (with the exception of the defense sphere) consists of the state property of all union republics that are the competent administrators of this property, of national income on their own territory and fulfill their obligations in the economic sphere to all-union bodies and other republics under contracts articulating interrelations of both sides on an equivalent and khozraschet basis.

II. In the area of ecology:

- to transfer rights relating to the use and conservation of natural resources to union republics. To closely coordinate regional economic development with a region's ecological situation;
- to devise specific measures in the area of land, water, forest, and other legislation with the aim of assigning rights to union republics in the area of environmental protection and natural resource utilization;
- to provide for the introduction of payments for the cost of all natural resources and sanctions for environmental pollution.

III. In the area of ethnic policy and interethnic relations:

- to devise and introduce an effective mechanism for guaranteeing the sovereign right of union republics. To restore the Leninist principles of socialist federalism as the basis of interrepublic and interethnic relations. To return to the Leninist idea of a union of equal sovereign republics enjoying the right to their citizenship and state language;
- to substantially raise the level of scientific interpretation and elaboration of interethnic processes, the development of socialist internationalism, Soviet patriotism and ethnic self-awareness, and the factors underlying such phenomena as nationalism and chauvinism;
- to create long-term republic programs for the development of ethnic processes and interethnic relations, the regulation of the demographic situation in the direction of increasing the share of the indigenous nationality. To take the formulation of these programs into account in the process of planning all socioeconomic measures;
- to attach paramount importance to the development of ethnic culture in union republics. To create necessary and equal conditions for satisfying the cultural needs of people of various nationalities living in these union republics;

—to raise the prestige of education in society. To secure the right of union republics, on the basis of general demands in the organization of education, to develop and implement the republics' own school curricula with due regard to local features, history, ethnic, and cultural traditions;

—to educate the population of a union republic in the spirit of internationalism and Soviet patriotism. To instill in all republic inhabitants a love of their native land regardless of their nationality.

In the area of democratization of state and public life:

- to condemn mass repressions of the period of the cult of personality (in Estonia in 1941 and 1949) as crimes against humanity;
- to restore the sovereignty of the Soviets of all levels on their territory. To draft a new election law;
- to declare the public referendum to be the highest form of expression of the will of the people. To develop a mechanism for holding referenda on the most important questions in the nation's sociopolitical and economic life;
- to create a commission for the revision of the existing Constitution of the USSR and for the formulation of an all-union contract as the fundamental document of the union of equal Soviet republics under the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet with the participation of representatives of all union and autonomous republics;
- to complete the formation of a socialist legal state. To develop effective public oversight over the activity of all law enforcement agencies, to secure total legal protection of the citizen and his rights in society;
- in the interest of the more flexible and diverse legal regulation of the management of the social sphere and natural resource utilization, to consider that the establishment of general principles of legislation to be within the competence of the USSR Supreme Soviet and the formulation and adoption of specific laws to be within the competence of the union republics. All-union laws must not contradict the Constitutions of the union republics;
- to establish that in the event of a discrepancy between all-union and republic legislation, the final evaluation of the legality of disputed normative acts of the USSR and a union republic could be made by a special USSR Constitutional Court under the USSR Supreme Soviet, which should include representatives of all union republics on a parity basis;
- to carry out judicial reform, to secure the legal protection of man in all stages of court proceedings;

- to continue to make statistical information public, bearing in mind that restrictions on the publication of statistical indicators should be permitted only for considerations of secrecy in the national defense sphere;
- to consider the growth of political activism of the working people and youth that is expressed in the forms of various movements in support of the development of socialism to be natural under the conditions of democratization of social life; to determine the status of social organizations and other forms of manifestation of civil initiative and legal guarantees of their participation in the formulation of political policy and in the management of public and state affairs. To secure their broader involvement in drafting and implementing important state decisions;
- to give union republics real possibilities to actively participate in international life, to have free association with foreign countries, to be represented in international organizations; where necessary to have their own representatives in neighboring countries and states in which there are numerous emigres (of the given nationality).

V. In the area of democratization of intraparty life:

- to create guarantees for the implementation of the party policy of perestroika, the development of and glasnost; to decisively free ourselves of everything associated with the consequences of the cult of personality, stagnation, bureaucratic-commanding methods of management, and with violations of Leninist norms of party and state life;
- to secure the real differentiation of functions between party, Soviet, and state organs. To exercise party influence on the activity of these organs through communists working in them;
- to expand the independence of all links in the party structure; to give them the possibility of developing their own tactics, the forms and methods of solving general party problems, of defining the structure and staffing schedule of the apparatus with due regard to local conditions, the specifics of organization, and the ideological situation;
- to raise the role of elected party organs, to secure the strict subordination of the party apparatus to them, and to reduce its size;
- to create favorable conditions within the party for discussing different opinions and points of view, especially in the formulation of long-range decisions;
- to propose the development of theoretical principles of party interrelations and political pluralism in society;

- to examine the question of the status of the central committee of union republics, defining its rights and obligations and the rights and obligations of its members.

**Position of Georgian Conference Delegates
Outlined**

18000595 Tbilisi ZARYA VOSTOKA in Russian
26 Jun 88 p 1

[Unattributed editorial: "Firm Support for Restructuring"]

[Text] Discussion of the Theses of the CPSU Central Committee for the 19th All-Union Party Conference has been completed. Everywhere the makeup of the delegates taking part in it has been determined. The conference will begin its proceedings on 28 June.

The broad democratic and principled discussion of the Theses furnishes the delegates with an immense amount of material for generalizations and conclusions. It is sufficient to say that 18,000 assemblies devoted to the conference were held in our republic. More than 900,000 workers took part in them, 372,000 party members, Komsomol members, and people not in the party took the floor, and there were 24,000 proposals, suggestions, and supplements to the programmatic principles contained in the Theses.

All forms of the agitation and propaganda effort were activated. The press, television, and radio have been vigorous and purposive, and—especially significant and indicative in the context of restructuring—people's initiative, boldness, and devotion to principle and the vigor of public opinion were manifested.

The course of preparation for the conference became an event that truly represented a stage, it demonstrated the sincere support for restructuring and the maturity of thought and interested participation of the absolute majority of party members and workers concerning the fate of restructuring, and it confirmed the truly vanguard and organizing role of the party in a stage that represents a turning point for the country.

The basic directions were worked out according to the results of the discussion; they also determine as a whole the position of the republic's delegation, which was approved in a meeting of the delegates from the republic party organization to the 19th All-Union Party Conference, which was held 24 June.

The main conclusion, and this is confirmed by a study of public opinion, it was noted during the meeting, is that restructuring is not a campaign outlined by the framework of reconstructive measures, but a long-term and all-inclusive comprehensive process whose outcome depends on the level of people's civic activity and work activity in all spheres and at all levels of activity.

The large-scale shifts in the economic domain and in the national economy are being hindered by the contradiction of relations among the economic, planning, and management mechanisms, compounded by the bureaucratic methods of approaches and assessments.

The republic's party members and workers support the opinion which has formed as to the need to divide functions among the leading, policy-making, government, and executive bodies on a clear legal basis.

The organizing and guiding force in establishing the process of improvement of the political, government, and social system of society is and will continue in future to be the party, the initiator of revolutionary restructuring, the political authority, which needs to be strengthened above all by intensifying its vanguard role, the innovative approach to problems and to performing the tasks of the country's sociopolitical and socioeconomic development; by the level of democracy in the party itself; by an endeavor to operate through party members and to work with people, seeing that every collective fully performs its functions and exercises its democratic rights; by creating an atmosphere of openness, of discussions, of criticism and self-criticism, of collectivism, of comradeship, of respect for the individual, in so doing replacing neither the soviets, nor the trade unions, nor other government or public and voluntary organizations or institutions. This can be achieved above all by enhancing the role of primary party organizations, which are expected to have a direct influence on the work effort and social activity of the masses and on the degree of initiative of public entities, which are the direct producers of material, social, and intellectual property.

Democratization and glasnost and socialist pluralism, as mandatory conditions for achieving the irreversibility of restructuring, must be given a legal basis, including a constitutional foundation; any public activity conducted within the limits of the Constitution and not countering the interests of development of Soviet socialist society deserves to be recognized.

The appreciation and use of public opinion in the effort of party and Soviet authorities and the entire institution of management of the state, society, and the national economy must be founded solely on scientific sociology in the context of optimum recommendations adjusted on a scale of priorities. The point of departure here should be that discussions are fruitful only on a basis of socialism and in the name of socialism, and that they must not result in political confrontation and a scattering of the social forces.

The course of preparation for the conference and discussion of the Theses have revealed the contradiction between the pace of restructuring that is required in the economy and politics and the real shifts that have taken place toward eradicating stagnation in the economic mechanism, in involving the people to participate

authentically in matters concerning production, the social system and government, and in affirming everywhere the principles of socialist justice.

While the processes of the transition of production enterprises to the new methods of economic activity, self-financing, and self-support have taken shape favorably, especially in the republic, there still have been no real changes as yet in socioeconomic development as a whole. The following have been enumerated as the paramount practical tasks for the republic in that direction: closing the gap in working capital, nonpayment, and above-allowance inventories; stabilization of the activity of the republic's Minlegprom, Minstroymaterialov, Minmestprom, and Gosagroprom; unconditional fulfillment of contractual obligations and growth of profit; sharp improvement of matters in construction, trade, and the service sector; and relief of tension in the circulation of money.

It would be advisable to differentiate centralized planning so as to take into account specific features of a regional nature on the basis of requirements defined "from below." Decentralization opens up opportunities for the republics to make a real transition to cost accounting, i.e., a strengthening of their economic sovereignty.

It is deemed advisable to raise the question of assigning the functions of direct management of the socioeconomic sphere and the sphere of culture and enlightenment, including that portion conducted within the framework of international relations, directly to councils of ministers of union republics.

The measures enumerated above will generate a need for gradual radical review or elimination of the functions of a number of union-republic ministries, departments, and organizations, above all those for public education and culture and also the creative unions.

In order to establish trust in interethnic relations and to develop creative initiative and businesslike contacts, consideration was also given to the need to preclude centralized regulation of cultural processes, scientific research, and the working up of syllabi and publishing programs.

Exceptional judiciousness and extreme caution are indispensable when the mass media and above all the central press discuss interethnic relations, ethnic historical realities, the specifics of ethnic traditions, and the peculiarities of the character and culture of the nationalities and ethnic minorities. It would also be desirable to take steps toward more effective accomplishment of the constitutional status of the "official language" in the union and autonomous republics and in the study of the native language, history, and cultural legacy of the nationalities of the USSR.

A unified opinion of the party organization of Georgia has been worked out on problems related to completion of construction of a socialist state based on law as the functional and organizational form of political power that fully corresponds to socialist democracy and also on questions of the further development of the Soviet Federation, the key to which lies in an organic union of the independence of the union and autonomous republics and other ethnic formations with their responsibility for the state interests of the entire union.

Decentralization and maximum transfer of many managerial functions to the local level, unswerving enforcement of the provisions of the USSR Constitution and Soviet laws guaranteeing the rights of the union republics and autonomous structures, and establishment of the standards of a state based on law require certain constitutional amendments, the working out of optimum corrections in the Basic Law of the USSR, which ought to be discussed by the entire people. The present practice of nationwide discussion of issues concerning broad public interest (the economy, ecology, law, demography, health care, etc.) needs to be used more actively.

Broad discussion of the Theses and the entire preparatory effort made in the republic have offered an opportunity to analyze exhaustively the directions and reference points they contain and to work out a common position of representatives of the Georgian party organization delegated to the 19th All-Union Party Conference.

On 25 June the delegation of the Georgian Communist Party to the 19th All-Union Party Conference departed for Moscow.

07045

Latvian Writers' Union Addresses Conference
PM2206163 Riga SOVETSKAYA LATVIYA in Russian
11 Jun 88 p 2

[Letter adopted unanimously on 2 June 1988 by participants in a plenum of the Board of the Latvian SSR Writers' Union held in Riga 1-2 June: "To the 19th All-Union Party Conference"; footnote states that "an identical letter has also been sent to CPSU Central Committee General Secretary M.S. Gorbachev"—bold-face as published]

[Text] Comrade Deputies!

We, the participants in the plenum of the Board of the Latvian SSR Writers' Union—with the participation of leaders of the republic's creative unions of architects, designers, journalists, cinematographers, composers, theater workers, and artists, and experts on problems of diverse aspects of the life of the Latvian SSR—address to the 19th all-union party conference our support for the spirit, thrust, and basic provisions of the CPSU Central

Committee Theses, and our support for the CPSU Central Committee's adopted course of the restructuring and renewal of Soviet society, the broadening of democracy and glasnost, and the development of national statehood within the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

For us, the most topical aspect of the restructuring and democratization of society and an indispensable condition of its successful development is the return to Lenin's concept of the free union of sovereign soviet republics and the complete, unconditional repudiation of Stalin's "autonomization" plan, which was realized in practice, implemented over a period of several decades, and whose mechanism has not ceased to function to this day. Its chief manifestation is the harsh and petty centralization of all material and cultural life, the ideal of which is complete uniformity without consideration for local and national features and interests, something which ultimately harms both the individual republics and the Soviet Union as a whole, and is equally ruinous for the economy and for culture.

Following the April (1985) Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee efforts have been made to change the situation radically, but as yet the results are not only far from attaining their goal but are also not proportional to the energy expended.

We believe that in their exposition of the national question and the ways of resolving it the significance of national relations and problems are still underestimated in the CPSU Central Committee Theses, the mass media, and the speeches by state leaders. We draw your attention to the particular circumstance that such important, constitutional concepts as the republics' sovereignty and statehood, and also the question of a Constitution of the union republics find no reflection in the Theses. The replacement of the concepts with vague definitions arouses the alarm of Latvians and of other peoples of the USSR.

In this connection we deem it essential in the political sphere, given the full unity of the country's foreign and defense policies—a unity which must be guaranteed by the CPSU—to ensure the effective sovereignty of the republics in respect of their natural and social resources, whose utilization is permissible only with a republic's consent and on terms agreed with it. At the republic level this would represent "the restoration in full measure of the role and authority of the soviets of people's deputies as fully empowered organs of people's representation" proclaimed in the Theses.

The USSR Supreme Soviet's Soviet of Nationalities must be the coordinator of the Soviet peoples' national interests and the guarantor of the sovereign rights of the national state formations of the USSR's peoples.

In our opinion there could be great political significance in proclaiming the language of the indigenous nationality to be the state language of the republic. This would

become the legal basis for obligatory bilingualism in the national republics in all social institutes (state employees, health and service sphere workers, and others), which would in fact guarantee the lawful right of each inhabitant of indigenous nationality in his or her own republic to use the native tongue in contacts with any social institute and its representatives.

It is advisable to amplify the points of the Constitution (Article 33) concerning citizenship of the union republics by delineating citizens' rights and duties in relation to the USSR as a whole and in relation to the union republic.

Inasmuch as for the first time in its centuries-long history the Latvian people are, tragically, becoming a national minority on their own territory, it should be one of the priority political tasks of the Latvian Communist Party and the republic's government to acknowledge the task of the preservation and development of the Latvian people, their language and culture, and their historically formed material, moral, and spiritual values. A further decline in the proportion of the indigenous nationality should be regarded as an infringement of the rights of its national statehood and of the cultural-political prestige of the USSR as a whole.

We believe that the Government of the USSR must pursue an active policy and diplomacy designed to ensure that the republic's status would in fact permit the world community to recognize Latvia as a sovereign national state in the federation of Soviet republics and that, as a result, Latvia would be accepted as a member of the United Nations and UNESCO, of the Olympic committee, and of other international organizations.

At the same time, in each republic the representatives of nonindigenous nationalities should be granted the opportunity to set up their own national cultural societies and to teach their children their own language, national history, and culture.

In the economic sphere, a healthy foundation for interethnic relations can be provided by preparing and carrying out in the next 5-year plan the transfer to full regional (republic) financial autonomy [khozraschet] and self-financing. An indispensable condition of this is the prior reform of the price-formation system in line with the law of value and the introduction of economically justified payment for natural resources, land in particular. In this way each republic's real contribution to the country's national income will become evident, each republic's responsibility to the others for the overall results of economic activity will be heightened, and the grounds for narrow-minded conjectures of the "who feeds whom" type will disappear. A republic's budget will not be allocated to it from the union budget but will be earned by the republic itself. The union budget will be formed from deductions from the republics' revenues in accordance with normatives formulated jointly for a specified period.

The diktat imposed by the all-union ministries and departments on soviet power at the given stage of the USSR's development has become a serious obstacle to the national republics' economic and sociocultural development. New, improved forms of combining social and regional interests should be sought, along with mechanisms for coordinating the republics' plans with all-union plans; the soviets' real power in the localities should be restored.

It is essential to establish the legislative prerequisites for the abolition of the essentially unlimited power of the all-union ministries and departments in running the economic life of the union republics (the Latvian SSR in particular); to broaden the rights and opportunities for the republics' harmonious development in order to create a real interest on the part of the republics' working people in the results of their own activity; and to resolve painful issues. Decisive measures considered at state level are needed to halt uncontrolled migration and the harmful effects on the demographic, cultural, and housing situation in the Latvian SSR conditioned by this migration. In many respects this situation should be deemed critical.

Up to now the Latvian SSR has been perceived as a territory on which it is advantageous to site efficient production capacities without consideration for the area's ecological features and cultural-historical type. The concept of the postwar development of industry in the republic was based on unilateral economic calculations which facilitated the unrestricted development of extensive technology and the moral and technical vulgarization of the industrial commodities being produced. The departmental egoism to which the republic's government has been unable to deliver a sufficiently effective rebuff has so exacerbated the ecological situation in Riga, Ventspils, Olayne, and Yurmala, and also in the Liyelupe, Daugava, and Gauja river basins, that it threatens to become catastrophic. The lack of purification installations in Riga has harmed the Gulf of Riga to an extent which it will be difficult to counteract.

The policy being pursued has also inflicted, and continues to inflict, irreparable losses on Latvia's cultural development, on the social sphere of our life. Management by the "residual principle" has brought about a situation whereby the construction and maintenance of the republic's cultural facilities are completely unsatisfactory. All this arouses the profound concern of the republic's population.

The resolution of issues of the republics' sociocultural development within the confines of the budgets earned by them must become their sovereign right and exclusively internal affair.

In the educational sphere we deem it essential not to implant by directive the mechanical amalgamation of pupils in two-stream schools without prior sociopsychological investigation of their experience. In Latvia we

ought to organize colleges of marine fishing and militia colleges giving instruction in the Latvian language, thus guaranteeing local cadres for the republic.

There should be determined development of the union republics' direct bilateral and multilateral economic and cultural ties on a businesslike and permanent basis. Right now they are frequently of an episodic, ceremonial, or also purely formal nature. An important role in the development of cultural ties could be played by the establishment of a Central Television channel for the union republics, placed at the disposal of a council of republic representatives.

The successful development of national culture in modern conditions demands the radical broadening of the rights and capabilities of the republics and their foreign ministries in the field of international contacts in the cultural, scientific, and education spheres and information exchange.

Another range of issues. Taking into account the tragic consequences of the Stalin personality cult for all peoples of the USSR, and for the Latvian people and Latvian Communists included, we deem it essential for the party conference to give an unambiguous, uncompromising assessment of Stalin's repressions as a crime against humanity, the Soviet people, and the Communist Party; and for legal guarantees to be formulated in respect of the irreversibility of restructuring and the impossibility of a return to the tyranny of the personality cult epoch, to the willful bureaucratic methods of the Brezhnev epoch, which also inflicted damage on the economy, morality, and culture of our country which it is difficult to remedy.

We appeal for the abrogation of the 14 May 1941 and 29 January 1949 resolutions of the All-Union Communist Party (Bolsheviks) Central Committee and the USSR Council of People's Commissars on the administrative exile of certain groups of the population from the territories of the Soviet Baltic republics, west Belorussia, and west Ukraine, resolutions which served as the basis for far-reaching mass repressions and entailed numerous innocent victims. It is essential, together with this, to effect the rehabilitation of all the innocent victims of Stalinism and to perpetuate their memory.

We consider it advisable for the all-union party conference to take the decision to publish in the open press N.S. Khrushchev's report on the personality cult and its consequences delivered at a closed session of the 20th CPSU Congress (1956).

The rehabilitation of the undeservedly repressed victims of Stalinist policy organically includes public censure of the specific perpetrators and implementers of the repressions. These people should be deprived of their social privileges, honorary titles, and the right to be perpetuated in the names of cities, streets, educational establishments, and so forth.

We deem it essential to effect a decisive renewal of the party, state, and economic apparatus via the enlistment of the best officials on the basis of their competence, political experience, conformity to high moral criteria, integrity, and capacity for productive activity; and on the basis of regular replaceability and competitive appointments [provedeniye konkursov], with the abandonment of many nomenklatura-determined directives. It is necessary to intensify the influx of representatives of the young generation not only because a substantial section of leaders has become accustomed to the old way of thinking and is capable of joining in the restructuring process in words only but also in order to ensure the continuity of the restructuring policy. As a counterweight to the bureaucracy it is essential to strengthen the positions of the creative individual in the system of society's moral and political values.

We deem inadmissible and incompatible with the principles of glasnost that area of the local bureaucracy's ideological activity which endeavors to pass off the social and national discontent of broad social strata as resulting exclusively from foreign propaganda or as seeking the restoration of capitalism (the bourgeois republic), and fails to acknowledge economic, demographic, and ecological deformations as the basic cause of social and national discontent—not to mention the elimination of these deformations.

There are in the country and the republic forces which are depicting the exacerbation of national and social problems as a result of the restructuring policy, and which are attempting to exploit these problems in order to discredit restructuring and provoke a political reaction.

It is essential to restore and substantially enhance mutual trust between society and the representatives of power—substantially to enhance glasnost and the provision of information for the population, to publish stenographic records of soviet sessions and party plenum meetings, to formulate new laws on the press and glasnost, on radio and television, which would enshrine and develop the process now under way of the Soviet people's increased activeness in social and civic affairs. It is necessary to remove the obstacles to citizens' familiarization with archive materials with a view to the truthful interpretation of the history of our country and our own republic.

In the resolution of all strategically important tasks of restructuring the party can count on the full support of Soviet Latvia's creative intelligentsia, which is conscious of its duty and responsibility to its own people and to all of Soviet society.

We are convinced that the 19th all-union party conference will be an important stage in the development of a genuinely socialist society founded on the equality and friendship of the peoples and the humanism and all-around democratization of society, and that its results

will also facilitate the solution of Soviet Latvia's outstanding problems which demand immediate action to overcome the critical situation which has evolved.

Letter adopted unanimously by the plenum participants 2 June 1988 in Riga.

An identical letter has also been sent to M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee.

Main Conference Proposals of Latvian Communists, Workers Published
18000594 Riga SOVETSKAYA LATVIYA in Russian
18 Jun 88 pp 1-3

[“Main Proposals of Communists and Working People in the Republic to the 19th All-Union Party Conference, Received in the Course of the Discussion of the CPSU Central Committee Theses”]

[Text] The Latvian Communist Party Central Committee Bureau submits the main proposals to the 19th All-Union Party Conference, received in the course of the discussion of the CPSU Central Committee theses. They have been summed up on the basis of proposals received from primary party organizations, party gorkoms and raykoms, communists and nonparty people, through the “direct line” of the Central Committee, and the mass information media. They take into consideration the views of the participants in the plenum of the Latvian Communist Party Central Committee, at which delegates to the conference were elected, and a number of constructive proposals submitted at the plenum of the board of the Latvian Writers' Union with the participation of heads of other creative associations.

This list includes many arguable and differing views which reflect different approaches taken to the solution of the difficult problems. However, they reveal sincere concern for the development of our Soviet socialist society.

The Latvian Communist Party Central Committee Bureau assumes, with the publication of this document, that public opinion in the republic will supplement and refine it. The proposals presented here will become the base of the work of our delegation at the 19th All-Union Party Conference.

To a lesser extent, this material reflects proposals the solution of which is possible in the republic itself. They will be addressed for implementation to the respective party, soviet, economic, trade union, Komsomol and law enforcement authorities.

The discussion of the CPSU Central Committee theses became the culminating stage in the nationwide preparations for the 19th All-Union Party Conference. At this stage party and nonparty members, young people, veterans and all categories of working people and the republic's population are displaying high level of sociopolitical

activeness, civic maturity and profound personal interest in the affairs of the party and the state, and the irreversibility of restructuring processes.

The organizational work conducted by the party committees and primary party organizations immediately after the CPSU Central Committee theses were published in the press was aimed at creating the necessary prerequisites and premises for the extensive and free manifestation of opinions, and the painstaking collection and strict consideration of all suggestions and remarks which have been received on the subject of the theses as a whole or their individual sections and stipulations.

The study and analysis of the suggestions lead to the following conclusions:

The republic's working people unconditionally approve and support the stipulation contained in the theses on the main objective of perestroika: the full identification of the humanistic nature and constructive power of socialism.

They express their satisfaction with the party's course of development of democracy and glasnost, self-government by the people, moral cleansing of society, revival of the Leninist principles and concepts of socialist statehood, and all-round development of the initiative and creativity of the broadest possible popular masses.

Many of the proposals underscore the urgent need for drafting nationwide political, legal and moral guarantees of the irreversibility of perestroika; they formulate tasks and define ways of uncompromising opposition to efforts to restore conservative approaches in economic management and in sociopolitical and sociocultural life.

1. Surmounting the Negative Phenomena of the Past

The majority of participants in the discussion of the CPSU Central Committee theses believe that we must irrevocably reject anything related to the consequences of the cult of personality, the stagnation phenomena, bureaucratism and violations of the Leninist standards of party and state life.

We must restore the Leninist concept of socialism and perfect it in accordance with the precise and comprehensive study of the historical past and the contemporary condition of Soviet society. This is particularly important in connection with the social requirement of surmounting dogmatic concepts about socialism, the overassessment of individual stages and phenomena in domestic history and the role which various governmental and party leaders played in it.

It is necessary to develop an efficient scientific definition of perestroika and to present it as an integral and continuous, dynamic and comprehensive process and, on the basis of contemporary conditions, define more clearly the criteria of the socialist system.

We must pursue the profound and comprehensive study and objective interpretation of the most important stages in the history of the USSR and the Union republics and the establishment and development of multinational Soviet statehood. We must once again go over the most complex problems of party history. The writing of new textbooks and school aids on the history of the USSR and the CPSU for secondary and higher educational institutions, general education schools and the party-political and Komsomol education systems must be accelerated.

Taking into consideration the tragic consequences of the cult of Stalin's personality for all the peoples of the USSR, including the Latvian people, the conference must provide a principle-minded and considered evaluation of Stalin's repressive measures.

The conference must raise the question of formulating legal guarantees for the irreversibility of perestroika and the impossibility of a return to the cult of personality or to stagnation phenomena.

The rehabilitation of the innocent victims of the cult of Stalin's personality must be broadened through the public condemnation of the specific culprits and the agents of repressive measures.

Since during the period of the cult of personality the sons and daughters of all nations in the country suffered, the proposal must be formulated of erecting in Moscow a monument to all innocent victims of Stalin's punitive measures.

The party's political line and the assessment of the new ideas, bearing in mind their consistency with the present and long-term interests of society and its individual citizens, must be formulated under the conditions of socialist pluralism, based on the extensive study of public opinion, which must be determined through all available means, including a variety of well organized sociological studies.

It is important not only to make an extensive study of public opinion but also to introduce in the practice of sociopolitical life in the country regular information to the population concerning its results. Centers for the study of public opinion, staffed by professionally trained specialists, must be established in all parts of the country.

Extensive and comprehensive efficient long-term measures for the struggle against bureaucratism and the suppression of criticism must be formulated at the conference.

2. Upgrading Economic Efficiency and Improving Management

With a view to eliminating disproportions which have developed in the national economy, the location of production forces in the Union republics must be based above all on the comprehensive and proportional development of the national economy on the republics' territories, oriented toward their own labor resources and based on the economic expediency of procurements of raw materials and shipping products out. In solving such problems, the Union ministries must take into consideration not only national but also territorial interests.

It is important to strengthen the scientific substantiation of the plans, to which purpose pre-planning scientific studies must be made of the various choices of ways for the development of the national economy, involving more extensively experts and interested public circles in their discussion.

It is necessary to discuss problems related to the elimination of errors allowed in the past in the deployment of production forces. Ways must be earmarked for the accelerated development of industry in areas with surplus manpower and adequate raw material resources.

The following principle must be strictly observed in the development of intersectorial production facilities: the creation of such facilities must be considered justified only if the number of workers they employ is fewer than at enterprises in which intersectorial production takes over the production of commodities or the implementation of projects.

It is suggested, in developing the resolutions of the party and the government on improving the activities of republic management authorities, to accelerate the efforts to upgrade the efficiency of the economic mechanism and its management, with a view to ensuring the significant expansion of regional economic self-government on a cost accounting basis. To this effect, creatively developing the resolutions of the June 1987 CPSU Central Committee Plenum, we must formulate within the framework of the Union national economic complex the concept of regional cost accounting. The economists in our republic, on whose initiative, starting with next year, relations between Union and republic budgets must be legalized, must make a substantial contribution to this project.

A number of economic management problems should be transferred from Union to republic jurisdiction, introducing this stipulation in Article 73 of the USSR Constitution. Thus, basic problems related to defining the structure and activities of republic and local state government and management authorities and key functions in managing the republic's economy, solving problems of

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setting prices and labor rates and wages, and financial and credit policy within the limits of the funds earned by the republic, must be placed under republic management.

Bearing in mind the great importance of setting economic rates at enterprises in shaping financial resources on the respective territory, it is necessary for such rates for enterprises and organizations under Union jurisdiction to be set only after coordination with the councils of ministers of the respective republics.

In order to ensure the more efficient management of the republic economies and social areas and the more comprehensive and efficient utilization of regional resources, the competence of Union departments on republic territory must be limited. A specific mechanism must be formulated which would regulate relations between the councils of ministers of Union republics and Union and Union-republic ministries and departments.

The legal mechanism for influencing USSR ministries and departments which violate the established procedure for coordinating their decisions pertaining to the national economy and population of the republics with the councils of ministers of the respective Union republics must be defined.

The range of problems which must mandatorily be coordinated by the councils of ministers of Union republics and USSR ministries and departments must be substantially reduced. The degrees of responsibility of the central authorities of the USSR and the Union republics for some economic sectors must be revised and reapportioned by transferring many economic functions of Union and Union-republic ministries and departments in their respective areas to the councils of ministers of Union republics, in order to ensure their decisive influence and full responsibility for the implementation of the food and housing programs, the production of consumer goods and the development of services in the republics.

Problems related to improving the entire system of central management authorities of the USSR in terms of substantially reducing the number of all-Union ministries and departments and, in terms of enterprises under Union jurisdiction, transferring most of them under republic jurisdiction, should be considered.

Steps should be taken to oppose arbitrariness and diktat on the part of Union and Union-republic ministries and planning authorities in setting the amounts of state orders. The regulation on the material responsibility of the ministries to labor collectives for decisions and orders the implementation of which harms the enterprises must be drafted at a faster pace.

With a view to upgrading the interest of Union republics in increasing output, a more modern mechanism must be formulated for the allocation of food and durable goods produced on republic territory. The "residual principle" of setting aside goods for consumption within the Union republic must be reviewed.

Particular attention must be paid to the priority development of agriculture in the republic and the application in it of progressive ways and means of labor organization and achieving a drastic increase in food production.

It has also become necessary substantially to amend purchase prices of agricultural commodities. They must ensure the equivalent exchange of goods between agriculture and other sectors and depend more fully on the amount of labor outlays and the conditions prevailing in the individual areas.

In making decisions on the creation of new or expanding existing production facilities, the ecological situation on a given territory must be mandatorily assessed, including the possible consequences of the planned construction. It is necessary to create the type of economic mechanism in which environmental pollution will inevitably entail tangible economic consequences to the enterprise and the labor collective as a whole and to its individual executives.

The question of the further enhancement of the quality of labor and of goods, and upgrading its competitiveness and the prestige of Soviet products must be raised at the conference.

The Law on Quality, the need for which was expressed at the 27th CPSU Congress, could play a positive role in solving such problems.

3. Development of Science, Education and Culture

Bearing in mind that the development of education, public health and culture are among the most important party tasks, the conference must consider the possibility of drastically increasing budget appropriations for such purposes.

Steps must be earmarked to improve the mechanism for the application of new production developments, the acceleration of scientific and technical progress and the development of wasteless and ecologically clean technologies.

An efficient mechanism for social expert evaluation of scientific and technical projects on the all-Union, regional and departmental levels must be established. The possibility must be considered of establishing a nondepartmental inspection system which would control the sanitary condition of the environment and the quality of products.

The existing public education system has fallen greatly behind the requirements of socioeconomic practices and the spiritual area of human activities. Decisive and energetic efforts must be made by the party, the state and the entire people to create an integral modern state-social educational system. More efficient economic and legal instruments for the acceleration of the school reform are necessary.

It would be expedient to discuss the need for drafting republic curriculums on many subjects, which would take better into consideration the features, needs and traditions of a given area. Steps must be taken for the development of the humanities in public education and for molding active and comprehensively developed individuals by the schools.

It is necessary to accelerate the creation of the necessary material-technical, organizational, ideological and cadre conditions and prerequisites which will ensure the efficient shaping, development and realization of the variety of interests and needs and the profound and durable knowledge, skills and habits as well as the creative activeness of every individual.

Aware of the role with which engineers and economists play in the acceleration of scientific and technical progress, steps must be taken to upgrade the quality of their training and to enhance the prestige of engineering work.

The state and the society must provide comprehensive moral and material support to ensure the full determination of the spiritual potential of each nation and ethnic group, the development of progressive trends and the promotion of a broad exchange of the best accomplishments of national cultures among the peoples of the USSR and between them and the rest of the world.

A proposal must be submitted on creating in Moscow cultural centers of all Union and autonomous republics.

The prospects and ways of development of the cultural autonomy of various ethnic groups within the Union republics must be substantiated on a scientific basis.

Ways for the further increase of material aid to young and large families must be considered. In this matter the experience of the socialist countries must be used more fully. Possibilities must be discussed for gradually shortening the working day for women with small children.

4. Intensification of Socialist Self-Government by the People

Legal and political steps must be contemplated to ensure the fuller implementation of the principle proclaimed by M.S. Gorbachev: "More democracy and more socialism." The legal and political guarantees for the real participation of the broad toiling masses in the management of all governmental and social affairs must be secured.

The reform of the political system of Soviet society, the need for which is stated in the CPSU Central Committee theses, must be implemented in such a way as to exclude entirely any possible loopholes for violating the rights of the working people in the solution of governmental problems.

The electiveness of managers on all levels must be perfected and developed. All management personnel must be under the control of the people, so that their promotions may depend not exclusively on the opinion of the superior manager.

Specific and mandatory steps must be earmarked to increase glasnost in the work of party, soviet and law enforcement authorities and the necessary conditions must be provided enabling every person to have the possibility to evaluate their work on the basis of accurate and full information. A bilateral system for the dissemination of socially useful information downwards as well as upwards must be systematically created and improved.

In order to ensure the full and comprehensive informing of the population, it is proposed that the press publish more materials on the activities of the Politburo, the Central Committee, the Supreme Soviet Presidium, and the USSR Council of Ministers on preparations for and consideration and resolution of the most important problems of social and governmental life.

Speeches by Politburo and CPSU Central Committee members must be extensively publicized, so that the public may be familiar with the views of every leader of the party and the state on specific matters.

The further development of the democratization of all aspects of life in Soviet society, increased glasnost and intensifying its influence on the course of sociopolitical and sociocultural development of the country must be systematically combined with strengthening order and organization and conscious socialist labor discipline.

Ways and means of improving the training of various groups of working people for participation in the administration of the state must be earmarked.

Proposals on perfecting the electoral system deserves support. The multiple-mandate electoral system, which was experimentally tried, must be developed further. Greater thought should be given to ways of involving reserve deputies in active work in the soviets and enhancing their status.

Procedures for the nomination for deputies, the organization of discussions and the public defense of the candidates' programs must be democratized further. Comprehensive possibilities of choosing among different candidates must be provided.

Ways must be discussed for the further development of self-government in labor, school and university student collectives on a legal and methodological basis.

Reliable legal guarantees must be provided for the implementation of the Law on the State Enterprise (Association) by all ministries and departments.

Steps must be formulated to upgrade the political standards of the working people. More efficient procedures must be drafted for holding debates, meetings and demonstrations. Social demagogic must be firmly opposed.

5. Democratization of Intraparty Life

About one-half of all the proposals, remarks and refinements which were received are related to the thesis on the role of the CPSU in Soviet social life. In particular, it is pointed out that in the light of perestroika the role of the CPSU as the leading and organizing force appears in a new fashion. This presumes the further development of the basic principles of party construction and perfecting the ways and means of party work from top to bottom.

It is emphasized that the further development of the party and of the democratization of its activities are hindered by the primary use, so far, of one of the components of the leading principle in the organizational structure of the CPSU, such as democratic centralism and, more precisely, centralism. Today party work must not rely exclusively on strict centralization. Conscious discipline must be promoted, based on communist convictions and not on directives issued by superiors.

Debates, and the extensive discussion of different opinions and, on this basis, decision making enable us to enhance the role of the democratic component of the leading principle in CPSU structure. At the same time, we must most clearly define the procedure for the annulment of decisions improperly issued by party committees.

The number of instructions "issued from above" to the primary party organizations on the implementation of general measures and the discussion of decrees and other materials, should be reduced. In this connection, it should be determined (or especially stipulated) which party resolutions or resolutions issued by its leading authorities should be discussed comprehensively on a mandatory basis (materials of congresses, CPSU Central Committee Plenums and CPSU Central Committee resolutions concerning a republic party organization), and which should simply be accepted for implementation or for information and guidance.

According to the proposals, the main hindrance to enhancing the role of the party as the political leader of society is the fact that the party organizations assume the

solution of a number of economic problems. There is no clear demarcation between their functions and those of soviet, state and economic authorities.

It is suggested that the full power be concentrated in the hands of the soviets of people's deputies, enhancing their responsibility for the solution of economic and social problems on their territory. It is important to ensure the true autonomy of enterprises in solving economic problems, strictly in accordance with the USSR Law on the State Enterprise (Association).

It is pointed out that the party authorities must firmly abandon petty supervision. They must deal strictly with party-political work, the main target of which is the specific individual. The party agencies and organizations must influence the activities of soviet, trade union, Komsomol and economic authorities through the party members working in them.

The practice of adopting joint decrees on strictly economic problems, duplicating in the local areas decrees adopted by the CPSU Central Committee and USSR Council of Ministers and the adoption by party committees of resolutions which issue direct instructions to state and economic authorities and public organizations must be firmly abandoned.

In connection with the expansion of the autonomy of enterprises and associations, changes and reduction in the functions of ministries and departments and the formulation within the republics of optimal structures for economic management, the proposals call for substantially changing the structure of the apparatus of the Latvian Communist Party Central Committee, closing down sectorial departments and replacing them with subdivisions which can entirely ensure the work of the Central Committee as the elected agency for political leadership (economic study of situations, formulation of political decisions, work with cadres, ideological work, and organizational support for the implementation of adopted resolutions).

Relieving the party committees of extraneous functions, making their structures consistent with the tasks of political management and eliminating excessive centralization in the solution of such problems would make it possible to release some of the personnel, based on specific local conditions.

Many party members have suggested that the question of the status of the central committees of communist parties of Union republics (for the time being they are essentially equated to party kraykoms and obkoms) be considered at the 19th All-Union CPSU Conference. The view has been expressed of the possibility of setting up a consultative council under the CPSU Central Committee Politburo, which would include the first secretaries of central committees of communist parties of Union republics.

In order to broaden the autonomy of city and rayon party organizations, it has been proposed that changes be made in the CPSU statutes at the forthcoming party congress. In particular, it must be clearly established whether or not city and rayon party committees have the right to hold debates on problems of party policy on the basis of suggestions formulated by several party organizations.

The principles governing the party's guidance of mass information media must be more clearly established and codified in the Law on the Press.

It is the view of many party members that it is important to grant the party committees greater freedom in handling and economizing on the established wage fund. To begin with, this would make it possible to set differentiated wages, based on the level of professional training of the worker and the specific results of his labor. Second, it would make possible to organize various task forces which would have the necessary qualifications for working on a given problem and to ask specialists to participate in such task forces. Third, the use of some of the savings on the wage fund could be used to upgrade the salaries of personnel and make it possible to attract within the apparatus better qualified specialists now employed in material production.

The proposals emphasize that, based on the tasks of the CPSU as the political vanguard and the profound changes occurring in the society, the activities of the primary party organizations must be restructured. Their rights must be expanded and their autonomy increased. It is suggested that all primary party organizations hold the same number of meetings by party members, no less than six annually.

The main criterion in strengthening the primary party organizations should be not the number of members or of implemented projects but the level of party influence in the labor collective, in all its sectors.

Numerous proposals and remarks have been expressed on matters of party membership, the essence of which is the need to abandon the automatic regulation of the growth and social structure of party ranks. In this case, it is particularly emphasized that at the present stage of development of our society the most important feature is the attitude of an individual toward perestroika and his personal participation in it. To this effect, the following is proposed:

—codifying at the conference the thesis to the effect that party gorkoms and raykoms and primary party organizations solve specific problems of reinforcement of party ranks depending on the features of the collective, its social and ethnic structure and the actual need for fresh party forces;

—grant the primary party organizations, if necessary, the right to extend the candidacy stage of new CPSU members to 2 years;

—stipulate in the party statutes the possibility of allowing individuals to leave the party on the basis of a personal request and for valid reasons (old age or irreversible worsening of their health), or else on the part of individuals who have been unable to meet the new standards of requirements applicable to party members under the conditions of perestroika;

—introduce the status of honorary CPSU member for party members who, with the advent of old age or a drastic worsening of their health, are unable to participate on a permanent and active basis in the work of the primary party organizations but who, nonetheless, would like to remain within the party. This title must be awarded for active party work to people with a party seniority of 30 or more years and the payment of symbolic dues must be instituted in their case.

A detailed study must be made of proposals on how to solve the question of party membership of individuals indicted in criminal matters for involvement in traffic accidents, breakdowns and industrial accidents. Such proposals call for adding the following text to Paragraph 10 of the CPSU statutes: "In exceptional cases the primary party organization can pass a resolution on temporarily depriving a party member of his rights until his culpability in the eyes of the law has been definitively established."

Practical proposals have been made to improve the procedure for the assessment of membership dues. In particular, views have been expressed on the need to apply a uniform percentage for membership dues and to lower their upper limit; a certain share of membership dues should be left at the disposal of the primary party organizations to meet current needs and for bonuses to secretaries holding this position as a voluntary social obligation.

In discussing the CPSU Central Committee theses great attention is being paid to problems related to the establishment of elected party authorities on all levels. The need is emphasized of adding to the CPSU bylaws stipulations which would ensure the practical democratization of this aspect of intraparty life.

In particular, it is suggested to this effect to introduce a system of direct elections by secret vote of the heads of party agencies (from party buro secretaries of primary party organizations to the CPSU Central Committee general secretary), and to establish maximal terms for holding an elective position by all party leaders without exception and set a single retirement age for all party leaders.

The proposal of returning to the system of holding accountability and election city and rayon party conferences once every 5 years, while introducing the practice of annual reports submitted by raykom and gorkom buros to party committee plenums on their activities, stipulated in the theses, is widely supported; the possibility of renovating the membership of the elected authority by no less than one-third in the period between conferences should be considered.

The mechanism for the constitution of party committees should be reviewed. Glasnost in this area must be increased and the participation within it of the party members in primary party organizations with which the candidate for elections is registered should be practically secured.

Since party conferences will become increasingly part of the practices of party life it is necessary to formulate a more efficient democratic procedure for determining their participants and for the discussion of problems submitted for consideration at the conference. This would enable us to avoid unjustified claims addressed to party committees.

A number of party members question the tradition according to which most managers of ministries and departments, enterprises and farms are made members of elected party bodies, which significantly narrows the social base of the representation of other categories of workers in such bodies.

It is necessary to introduce in the practice of intraparty life the election of managers of party committees selected among two or more candidates, offering the candidates the possibility to meet with the members of the primary party organizations and to present their program for action before the elections.

It would be expedient to draft and codify in the CPSU statutes not only the status of the member of an elected party agency but, as a whole, the status of the elected party authorities on different levels and to indicate their objectives, tasks, rights and obligations.

Numerous suggestions have been expressed calling for the senior personnel of the party committee apparatus (from the raykom and gorkom to the central committee of the communist party of a Union republic) to be members of primary party organizations of the labor collectives from which they were nominated to party work.

A procedure should be established according to which the members of elected party authorities must report to the primary party organizations and labor collectives on their work no less than once annually.

The republic party activists believe in the need to lower the rate of releasing secretaries of party organizations. The party raykoms and gorkoms should be given the right to assign such secretaries, if necessary, to organizations which particularly need them.

Party committees should be set up at enterprises and organizations based not on the number of party members but the overall number of employed people. The possibility must be considered of paying to full-time party committee secretaries wages equal to those paid to economic managers of respective labor collectives.

In the view of many party members, the main tasks of party ideological work under contemporary conditions should be the following:

- developing a new type of outlook free from the distortions of the period of the cult of personality and stagnation, and a new type of political and economic way of thinking, oriented toward the development and strengthening of the feeling of ownership of one's republic and country, developing a constructive approach to any problem, and a free creative attitude toward the affairs of the labor collective, the region and the country;
- creating conditions for open discussion and comparison among ideas and interests;
- ensuring the considered reassessment of the theoretical concepts of recent decades and a return to the Marxist-Leninist concept on essential problems, such as the socialist state, democratic centralism, intraparty democracy, sovereignty of Union republics, social justice in distribution relations, both on the individual and collective as well as the interrepublic level;
- mobilizing the people for solving topical problems of perestroika; engaging in a radical economic reform and promoting the comprehensive democratization and humanizing of our society.

The implementation of these tasks calls for a thorough restructuring of all party ideological work, such as to ensure a consistency between its forms and methods and the essentially new status of the society.

It is necessary to abandon subjectivism and develop a more responsive attitude toward processes occurring in the society. Specialists must become extensively involved in promoting the awareness of such processes, studying the reasons for phenomena and formulating realistic views. An atmosphere of total openness must be created.

The reorientation of social awareness toward supporting through action the entire process of perestroika must become the main criterion of the efficiency of the efforts of the party organization in the upbringing of party members and all working people.

6. Enhancing the Role and Authority of the Soviets

The party members and the working people of the republic approve the CPSU Central Committee thesis on the real transfer of the full power to the soviets of people's deputies. This presumes that it is precisely the soviets which, directly or through the agencies they set up, should direct, organize and implement all state, economic and sociocultural building.

The party must change its style of leadership of the soviets. The party must implement its resolutions and policies through the party members elected to the soviets. The party must direct the activities of the soviets but in no case substitute for them.

The functions of soviet, party and economic authorities in the area of solving socioeconomic problems must be clearly demarcated legislatively. In order for the soviets to exercise full power, it would be expedient to set up sectorial departments and to include within the apparatus of executive committees structural subdivisions in charge of the comprehensive economic and social development of the territories.

It is necessary to review the ukases of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium on the basic rights and obligations of soviets of people's deputies of rayon, city, urban rayon, settlement and rural soviets. Such ukases, which were adopted in 1968 and 1971, were redrafted in 1978 but today do not ensure the implementation of the resolutions of the 27th CPSU Congress and the subsequent CPSU Central Committee plenums on problems of upgrading the role of the soviets in socioeconomic development. Whereas the independence of enterprises is truly guaranteed with the Law on the State Enterprise (Association), the principle of territorial management and the rights and obligations in this connection of the soviets of people's deputies are not clearly regulated in the legislation. That requires the passing of a USSR law on the soviet of people's deputies.

The legislation should define more clearly the decisive role and interaction between soviets of people's deputies and enterprises in the course of drafting and coordinating plans for economic and social development. Article 10 of the USSR Law on the State Enterprise (Association) lists a set of problems on which the enterprise must coordinate the draft plan with the executive committee. However, there are no legal guarantees which would ensure the mandatory consideration by enterprises of the interests of the social development of the territory and the views of the executive committee on such matters.

It is also necessary to regulate problems of making use of the capacities of construction organizations outside the territory under the jurisdiction of a given soviet and relations between local soviets and branches or shops located on the territory of the given soviet which, so far, make no withholdings whatsoever for the local budgets.

The laws should stipulate economic penalties for nonfulfillment or improper implementation of obligations by enterprises for the production of consumer goods and for providing paid services to the population.

Long-term stable rates of withholdings from enterprises and cooperatives for the budget of the soviet, which would include payments for the use of water, land and other resources, must be established.

With a view to strengthening the role of the soviets, it is necessary legislatively to stipulate the participation of executive committees in assessing the results of economic activities of enterprises and associations.

It would be expedient to introduce substantiated rates for determining the size of the executive committees and the salaries of their personnel, depending on the volume of work, taking into consideration the size of the population, the existence of enterprises, organizations and farms on the territory of the given soviet and other individual characteristics of the rayon or city. The executive committees must be given the right independently to establish their own structures and tables of organization within the limits of their overall wage fund.

The rights of the local Soviets must be expanded in the solution of all problems related to their territory. They must be ensured financial independence and the rights and responsibilities of the deputies must be increased.

It must be legislatively stipulated that without the permission of the respective soviet of people's deputies no activities which could change the economic, ecological or demographic situation of a given territory could take place.

The solution of such problems legislatively would contribute to accelerating the conversion of the local soviets to full cost accounting and the dependence of their activities on the end results of the work of enterprises located on their territory.

The restructuring of soviet activities should be closely related to improvements in the electoral system.

The electoral system must be subject to urgent and radical change. Maximal democratization of the procedures for the nomination of candidates for deputies, rejection of the principle of selection of candidates for holding elective state positions on the basis of investigations must be abandoned and the possibility of choosing among different candidates must be guaranteed.

A new law on elections to soviets of people's deputies must be drafted in order to ensure the legal codification of these stipulations.

It is necessary to restore the practice of holding congresses of soviets of people's deputies and make the USSR Supreme Soviet a permanent body with deputies who would be relieved of any other obligation. The number of such deputies should be reduced by a factor of two or three.

It must be stipulated that ministers and personnel of the apparatus of the Council of Ministers or of executive committees may not be deputies. They must obey the will of the soviets and be accountable to them.

7. Improving Relations Among Nationalities

In the view of many party members it has become necessary to create a new overall concept governing the development of relations among nationalities in the country and the formulation of a long-term comprehensive program for the solution of problems which have accumulated.

The former one-sided positive assessment of the results of the implementation of the party's national policy during different periods of Soviet history must be changed. The Stalinist distortions of the Leninist principles of a Soviet federation must be voiced more clearly and precisely.

The Leninist concept of guiding the development of national relations under socialism must be implemented in full. The deformations which appeared under the influence of strict centralization and petty regulation by central departments of the material and cultural life of national republics must be eliminated.

The efforts of Union ministries to present their departmental interests as the interests of the state must not be tolerated and nor should their custom of developing production facilities while ignoring the interests of the local population.

In order to prevent such phenomena from appearing, it is necessary to draft for the councils of ministers of Union republics legal guarantees which would prevent including in the regulations issued by USSR ministries and departments mandatory stipulations and instructions issued to the councils of ministers of Union republics.

At the same time, the concept of state ownership must be concretized; the USSR Constitution must stipulate that the entire state ownership of the country (with the exception of defense) consists of state ownership by all Union republics, which are full-powered managers of this property on their territories and which carry out their obligations in the economic area pertaining to the Union authorities on the basis of contracts which determine relations between both sides, on a cost accounting basis.

A mechanism must be set for influencing USSR ministries and departments which fail to observe the stipulated procedure for coordinating their decisions which affect the national economy and population of a republic with the councils of ministers of the respective Union republic.

Many proposals pertain to the problem of migration processes, which is important from the viewpoint of the national and ethnic composition of the republics. It is pointed out that the fact that Union ministries and departments ignore local economic, ecological and socio-cultural needs and interests leads, under the conditions of a multinational state, to the aggravation of national relations as a whole and to the dissatisfaction on the part of the local population with the activities of Union authorities in particular. The solution of such problems is possible only through the joint efforts of local and Union authorities, on the basis of properly considered programs for action.

In this connection, the party members and the working people of the republic suggest a faster formulation of resolutions by the Latvian Communist Party Central Committee, Latvian SSR Council of Ministers and Latvian Republic Central Council of Trade Unions of measures to control the mechanical increase of the republic's population.

The USSR Council of Nationalities must become the true spokesman for the national interest of all peoples of the USSR and a guarantor that the sovereign rights of their national statehood will be observed.

One of the main functions of the USSR Supreme Soviet Council of Nationalities must be that of providing governmental protection of the interests of the republic in the face of the sway held by the central departments. To this effect it must set up respective commissions and deputy groups. It would make sense also to consider the possibility of setting up a working authority similar to the former people's commissariat for nationalities affairs.

Proposals on creating a special Institute of the Peoples of the USSR by the Academy of Sciences and resuming the publication of the all-Union journal ZHIZN NARODOV SSSR, and opening a special channel by the Central Television, which would describe life in the fraternal Soviet republics, are worthy of approval.

We must accelerate new updated drafts on problems of Leninist national policy.

The authors of many proposals believe that a clear scientific substance should be given to the definitions of nationalism, national self-awareness and national pride.

The theoretical definitions of these philosophical categories, voiced at the party forum, would make it possible, in the course of practical work, to define more accurately the processes currently taking place in relations among nationalities.

Providing conditions for the free development of all nations and ethnic groups in the USSR, protecting and developing national cultures and languages, and ensuring their use in all social institutions on the territory of a given nation or ethnic group must become an object of constant concern on the part of the party and the state.

A number of practical proposals have been submitted on the further development of Latvian-Russian bilingualism. Many problems are at issue in such matters. The republic's party members believe that the all-Union party forum should earmark practical ways for the further development of national languages, based on the stipulations of the Leninist national policy.

8. Strengthening the Legal Foundations in the State

The party members and working people in the republic unanimously support the stipulations included in the CPSU Central Committee theses on the pressing need to complete the creation of a socialist state based on the law as a form of organization and functioning of the political system, entirely consistent with socialism and socialist democracy.

Taking into consideration the tragic pages in domestic history, when the slandering of innocent citizens in the country made them victims of scandalous violations of legality and cases of unfair treatment of people to this day, it is necessarily maximally to accelerate the creation of a mechanism for the social and legal protection of the individual in dealing with the state and its power institutions. The real responsibility of the state to the citizens of the country must be ensured in practical terms.

Under the conditions of democracy and glasnost it is necessary to ensure the establishment of material and legal prerequisites for the exercise of citizens' constitutional rights: the freedom of speech, press, assembly, meetings, street marches and demonstrations and conscience.

The Leninist principles of state life must be restored. The party and the state must increase their efforts to uproot distortions and deformations created by authoritarian management methods and firmly block efforts at reviving the former approaches.

It would make sense to draft a special USSR law on the Soviet federation, which would regulate in detail relations among union republics and between them and the central authorities in the country and would stipulate reciprocal rights and obligations in solving problems of administering the country and the republics (including

the principles of defining the subordination of the various economic sectors in the country and the republics, the limits of the legislative autonomy of republics, etc.), and codify the status of the language of clerical work in Union republics.

The range of competence of Union republics in the legislative area must be significantly broadened. It would be expedient, with a view to ensuring the more flexible and varied legal regulation of problems of economic management and management of the social area, based on local conditions, to stipulate that the formulation exclusively of the general principles of legislation is the prerogative of the USSR Supreme Soviet.

In order to strengthen the constitutional guarantees of the rights of Union republics, Article 74 of the USSR Constitution should be expanded with the proposal according to which in differences between Union and republic legislation the Union legislation would prevail; however, such a right would not apply in cases in which the Law on the USSR or any legal act issued by a Union authority harms the constitutional rights of a Union republic.

At the same time, it is necessary to formulate a procedure for the consideration of such disputes and contemplate the establishment of a special constitutional court under the USSR Supreme Soviet, consisting of representatives of all Union republics, which would determine whether USSR laws and other legal acts issued by Union administrative authorities violate the constitutional rights of fraternal Soviet republics.

Soviet legislation should regulate only the basic concepts which must be identically resolved throughout the country's territory, while all other problems should be solved by Union republics in accordance with territorial, national and other characteristics.

It is necessary to formulate, for all articles of the country's constitution and the constitutions of the republics respective laws which would regulate the exercise of the rights and obligations proclaimed in said articles.

In the course of the planned major legal reform, the drafting of USSR laws on glasnost and the press must be accelerated. Such laws must clearly define the rights and obligations of the mass information media and officials on all levels and the responsibility of editors for the content and ideological trend of materials published.

The further expansion and intensification of democracy also requires a firm elimination of ignorance of the law not only among leading personnel but also rank and file working people. The people must know their rights and obligations. They must know the way in which they can be exercised today, within the limits of the existing legislation.

In the past as well legal nihilism caused a great deal of difficulty, which makes it today even less tolerable. It would be expedient, starting with the next school year, to organize the universal legal training of the population in the country and the republic.

9. Restructuring the Activities of Public Organizations

Many of the proposals emphasize the thought that the socialist political system cannot function fully without relying on a wide network of public organizations, through which the interests of the different social, professional and age groups of the country's population are expressed and implemented.

It would be expedient, in order to ensure the further development of the system of public organizations, to pass a law on public organizations, which would reflect the basic principles governing the creation, objectives and tasks of such organizations and their legal status, and would define the range of problems which the state authorities can solve only with the participation of public organizations. In this connection a legal regulation must be issued on the creation and activities of agencies functioning on a voluntary basis.

It is suggested to define clearly (through legislation) the place of informal social associations within the political system of Soviet society and the principles governing their establishment and functioning.

A number of comrades consider possible granting executive committees of rayon and city (cities under republic administration) soviets of people's deputies, taking into consideration the views of local party authorities and interested organizations, the right independently to determine the need for creating or abolishing commissions, councils and other agencies of public activities by citizens.

The trade unions, the Komsomol, the cooperatives and other public organizations, scientific associations and creative unions must play a more significant role in restructuring processes; they must restructure themselves and reinterpret their status and role and identify better their possibilities under the new conditions.

A new impetus must be given to the activities of the trade unions. Basic decisions must be made on the status of the trade unions in the political system of our society. The functions of trade unions and the forms of their relations with state authorities and economic managements and labor collective councils must be defined more clearly. Party leadership must be exercised only through the party members working in the trade unions.

In the view of many party members it would be expedient to enhance the representation of trade unions in the state authorities (particularly on the level of Union republics and the country at large), and to guarantee the trade unions the right freely to nominate their deputies to the soviets.

It is necessary to broaden the range of personnel who have the right to have their rights and interests defended by the trade unions. The list of jobs the holders of which are deprived of trade union protection is inconsistent with the principles of social justice.

Perfecting youth policy must become a major trend in the activities of the party and the state. Work on the drafting of a law on the youth must be accelerated.

Taking the characteristics of our time into consideration, it is necessary more clearly to define the status of the Komsomol as representing the interests of the various youth strata within the political system of our society and take steps to make it a truly youth organization.

The thought has been persistently expressed that the Komsomol must abandon excessive petty supervision and acquire full autonomy in solving youth problems and work under the ideological guidance of the Communist Party rather than duplicate the content, forms and methods of party work. The party's leadership of the Komsomol must be essentially implemented through the young party members who work within the Komsomol.

It is also proposed that a state authority for youth affairs be created, which would implement youth social programs and coordinate work with young people by ministry and department, closely interacting with youth organizations and movements.

The working people suggest that a nationwide discussion be held on the activities of the numerous social organizations operating in the country, that their work be evaluated and the problem of the expediency of the existence of some of them be resolved.

In assessing the activities of public organizations, it is proposed to proceed from the main political criterion: any social activity conducted within the framework of the constitution and not conflicting with the interests of socialism deserves recognition and encouragement.

It is suggested to create the type of social organizations such as societies of book lovers, educators, OSVOD and many others, exclusively starting on the rayon level, without primary organizations in labor collectives. The establishment of such societies must be strictly voluntary and based on an individual approach, excluding collective membership.

Independent public movements must have a clear program which would define the means of participation of social strata or members of specific population categories in the implementation of the political, economic and social programs for the development of Soviet society.

The Communist Party must provide political guidance to all social movements and political, cooperative and other organizations founded on the basis of civic initiatives.

10. Development of International Relations

The fate of perestroyka and the implementation of our extensive and daring plans, the party members and working people emphasize in their responses to the CPSU Central Committee theses, are directly dependent on the planet's climate and the international situation.

The considered policy of the CPSU and its leadership in foreign policy is approved. The new political thinking made it possible to formulate and implement a number of major ideas which have radically changed the very style of our relations with the foreign world. A dialogue, from heads of states to simple citizens, has become its main distinguishing feature.

In the new international situation, the foreign policy authorities must raise more persistently with the U.S. government the question of the full recognition of the Soviet Baltic republics.

Within the overall context of the problem of the sovereignty of Union republics, other questions arise related to the need to decentralize the existing system of international relations. In particular, in order to ensure the substantiated defense of the interests of the Soviet Union, it is suggested that representatives of the Latvian SSR be given the possibility of greater participation in international organizations dealing with problems of the Baltic area.

It would be expedient to provide legal and material prerequisites for increasing work with Latvians abroad. More extensive use must be made of inviting to visit Soviet Latvia of realistically thinking social and scientific personalities and men of culture and the arts among Letts who live abroad.

It is necessary to broaden the rights of Union republics in the area of making commercial deals with foreign partners and creating joint enterprises and firms.

The persistent and systematic development of comprehensive economic, scientific and technical, social, youth and other contacts with foreign partners, including directly, on the level of Union republics and regions, would make it possible to broaden concepts about the USSR abroad and our views on practices in solving various problems of social and political life in other countries.

Within the overall context of the CPSU course toward the shaping of contemporary international relations, it appears expedient to broaden the possibilities for the student youth in our country, including in our republic, to study in higher educational institutions abroad.

We request that suggestions, supplements and elaborations related to this document be addressed to the Latvian Communist Party Central Committee or submitted through "direct telephone lines" Nos 32-02-10 and 32-05-65.

05003

Main Conference Proposals of LiSSR Communists, Workers Published

18000520a Vilnius SOVETSKAYA LITVA in Russian
23 Jun 88 p 1

[“Main Proposals of the Republic’s Communists and Workers for the 19th All-Union Party Conference Received during the Course of Discussion of the CPSU Central Committee Theses”]

[Text] Workers in Soviet Lithuania are discussing extensively the CPSU Central Committee Theses for the 19th All-Union Party Conference. They approve them, showing here a high level of political activeness, civic maturity and profound personal interest.

The Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee Buro and delegates to the 19th All-Union Party Conference from the republic party organization have examined the proposals received during the course of discussion of the CPSU Central Committee Theses for the 19th All-Union Party Conference. Almost 187,000 communists and more than 320,000 nonparty people took part in the open party meetings in primary and shop party organizations and the party groups in the labor collectives. Some 50,500 people spoke. Many proposals were received via the mass media and also through telephone calls directly to the Central Committee. Due consideration has been given to the remarks and proposals from those attending the Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee 12th Plenum, at which delegates were elected to the party conference, and to proposals from the board of the Lithuanian Union of Writers and other creative unions and public organizations. A total of more than 37,000 proposals and propositions were put forward both on problems concerning the Theses and on matters beyond the scope of those theses. They include many businesslike and constructive proposals that must be studied in depth together with scholars and specialists and enterprise managers, and appropriate decisions must be made by the Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee and the republic government.

It should also be noted that the proposals put forward also included many that are controversial and reflect a different approach to the resolution of complex problems. There are also proposals that are unacceptable.

One way or another all proposals are imbued with concern for the further expansion of democracy and glasnost and with improving our economy and strengthening socialism.

The public in the republic has expressed its opinion that the workers should be acquainted with the proposals that have been received. Taking this into account, after discussing the proposals with the conference delegates the Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee Bureau is publishing the main proposals for general information. Of course, it is not possible to publish all 37,000 of the proposals. Many of them are repetitive of each other while others are local in nature and can be resolved in a practical way at the local level. The delegates have adopted the proposals from communists and nonparty people as instructions from the workers in the republic for the work of our delegation at the 19th All-Union Party Conference.

1. The Further Expansion of Glasnost and Elimination of the "Blank Spots" in the History of Soviet Society

To draw up and adopt a law on glasnost in which provision would be made concerning all legal aspects of glasnost, both verbal and in the press. Only matters concerning the country's defense, major state secrets, the individual's private life and medical confidentiality would remain outside the scope of glasnost. Provision should be made in the law for effective measures to deal with bureaucracy and the suppression of criticism and glasnost.

To devise an effective mechanism that would reliably insure the irreversibility of perestroika and the impossibility of returning to the cult of personality or stagnation phenomena. To condemn not only the cult of Stalin but also those who organized and carried out the repressions against innocent people. To erect in Moscow and in each of the union republics memorials to the victims of Stalin's repressions. To open up the archives extensively for those researching the history of the USSR and union republics and the CPSU and the republic communist parties.

To extend glasnost to the activity of the CPSU Central Committee and all leading organs. To relay on television and radio the work of all-union and republic party forums and other forums. To set up within them information services so that each person may pass on his proposals. To publish in full not only the reports but also the speeches of those participating.

To study public opinion more extensively. To put up for national debate (referendum) key issues in socioeconomic policy and to give due consideration to its results when final decisions are made. To set up institutes in each republic to study public opinion.

To give broad glasnost not only to mistakes by the country's leaders in the time of stagnation but also to the mistakes being permitted now in the adoption and implementation of national decisions (and to indicate specifically who they are).

2. Economic and Social Development and the Implementation of Radical Economic Reform

To improve the concept of cost-accounting relations within the enterprise and between enterprises and sectors of the national economy. To study and substantiate the possibility of introducing regional cost accounting in the Lithuanian SSR on the basis of realistic prices. The economists in our republic should make a substantial contribution to this work.

To give the union republics more independence in resolving economic, social and ecological problems. A number of economic matters should be transferred from the competence of the USSR to the republic. In this connection, to propose to the USSR Supreme Soviet that it make changes to Article 73 of the USSR Constitution.

Strictly to observe the Law on the State Enterprise (or Association). Consistently to improve sector and territorial planning.

To review the question of decentralizing economic management and of transferring some enterprises and organizations of all-union subordination to the control of republic organs.

To prohibit all-union ministries from resolving questions concerning the construction of new enterprises and the expansion of existing enterprises on the territory of the republic without its agreement. To make mandatory discussion by the population of the advisability of constructing major projects in a region on whose territory such construction is proposed.

To achieve further intensification in agricultural production on the basis of extensive introduction of cost accounting and the collective, family and lease contract.

In order to accelerate resolution of the housing problem to take the steps necessary to build up the capacities of the construction materials industry overall, both nationally and on the republic scale. To pay more attention to the preservation of historical monuments and to approach the all-union organs with proposals to accelerate restoration in the old part of Vilnius city.

To bring up for national debate the question of the reform of retail prices so that it can be done without detriment to the public and without lowering the level of the people's well-being.

At the party conference to pay serious attention to questions of ecology as a problem of great economic, political and social importance. Union ministries should

resolve ecological questions involving the Ignalina AES, the Mazheykyay Oil Refinery, the Kedaynay Chemical Plant and the Ionava Azot Production Association and the cleanup of the water in the Baltic Sea and Nemana River.

3. The Development of Science, Education and Culture

To extend the independence of the union republics in resolving questions of national culture, education, the press and other problems of spiritual life.

To increase the allocation of major funding to develop education, public health, science and culture.

To pay more attention to the preservation of national cultural traditions. To expand the study in educational institutions of the history of the Lithuanian people. To strengthen and develop the emphasis on the humanities in education.

To support the question of introducing into the Constitution of the Lithuanian SSR an article on the Lithuanian language as the republic's official language.

To assign to the Ministry of Education the task of introducing proposals on the further improvement of teaching Lithuanian and Russian languages in republic schools and the introduction of a course on esthetics and ethics in the school program. To give the union republics the right to confirm programs and textbooks on the history of their own region and on literature and the arts and language, and to introduce additions and amendments to other programs and textbooks, taking national features into account.

To raise the question of rejecting the doctrine of mandatory general secondary education as something that has not justified itself. Secondary education should be a right not an obligation.

To be more active in recruiting scientific organizations into the system of cost-accounting relations. To review the question of the need for significant improvement in the links between science and production, and for creating a modern base for the scientific institutions.

4. The Development of Socialist Self-Management by the People

In order to achieve the further democratization of Soviet society to hold a national referendum on the subject "What changes should be made to the USSR Constitution and to the constitutions of the union republics?"

To delineate precisely the functions of party, state, soviet and economic organizations. To insure a decisive and real reduction in the apparatus.

To extend the electivity of leading cadres and to nominate several candidates for a single position.

To introduce a legal standard providing that officials—ministers, chiefs of sectors in executive committees, management chiefs and others—cannot be appointed to posts without the recommendations of standing commissions. To draw up a law defining procedure for the election of chiefs of ministries and departments and other officials.

In all elections the voting should be for several candidates.

To restrict to two terms the time that officials can be elected to party and state apparatus.

5. The Development of Intraparty Democracy

While remaining loyal to the principle of democratic centralism in intraparty life, to abandon rigid centralism and broadly develop democratic principles. Since it is the law of life for the party, party discipline should be deeply recognized by each communist but not maintained by rigid diktat "from above."

In this connection, to work out and introduce at the next party congress the necessary changes in the CPSU Rules, having first discussed them in the party organizations.

To regulate the procedure for convening all-union party conferences and precisely define their powers in resolving questions of party and state life.

In the election of delegates for all-union and republic party congresses and party conferences, discussion of candidates should start in the labor collectives and then be discussed at plenums of the raykoms and gorkoms and the republic communist party central committee.

To simplify procedural methods for admission to the CPSU and to abandon mechanical increases in the party ranks. To enhance the independence and responsibility of primary party organizations for strengthening their own ranks and to study more fully and give due consideration to the opinion of the labor collectives about those admitted to the party. To introduce the possibility of freely withdrawing from the CPSU ranks.

To leave some proportion of party dues at the disposal of the primary party organization.

Opinions are being expressed on the formation of the makeup of party committees. In this work there should be broader glasnost and guarantees for the practical participation in it of communists from the primary party organizations where candidates for admission are registered. To define in the CPSU Rules the status of the party committee at all levels, and also the status of any member of an elected party organ. To review existing CPSU Central Committee instructions on procedure for holding elections to leading party organs.

To be more active in conducting perestroika in ideological work. To pay more attention to people's patriotic and international indoctrination. To continue the search for ways to deal with drunkenness and to stiffen measures against the production of home-brewed liquor.

To clarify in the CPSU Rules the question of party leadership in the trade unions, Komsomol and other public organizations.

To draw up a provision on the editorial offices of party newspapers, making provision for the electivity of editors of both local and central newspapers.

To review the periodicity for the convening of meetings in the primary party organizations and also party committee plenums with a view to reducing the number of meetings.

To raise the question of improving the structure of the party apparatus from top to bottom, and of reducing it.

Sharply to reduce the number of documents issued from above to below, and to define precisely which of them should be discussed in all party organizations. To simplify clerical work in the lower party wings.

Periodically to hold discussions within the party on the most urgent questions of party policy.

6. Enhancing the Role of the Soviets of People's Deputies

The soviets should possess real power in fact. Things should be so arranged that the soviet resolves all questions rather than the executive committee. The apparatus of the executive committees does not have the right to issue instructions to the soviets.

To draw up a new law on elections to the soviets, making provision in it for the nomination of several candidates for each district. To reduce the number of deputies in soviets at all levels and to free them up from part of their service and production obligations and enable them to concentrate fully on their work in the soviets. To extend the right of deputies as envisaged in the Law on the Status of the Deputy. Deputies should not be elected according to some listed attribute.

To define more precisely in law the relationship between local soviets and all enterprises located on their territories. To establish firm standards for deductions from profits into the soviet budget. To transfer to the control of the soviets the funds earmarked for development of the social sphere in the region.

7. Improving Inter-Ethnic Relations

To develop an integrated concept for party national policy under present-day conditions, based on fundamental Leninist principles. To convene a CPSU Central Committee plenum on questions of inter-ethnic relations.

To change the functions of the USSR Supreme Soviet Council of Nationalities so that it does not duplicate the Council of the Union but deals directly with questions of inter-ethnic relations. To create a department for inter-ethnic relations within the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium.

To draw up and adopt a law on the Soviet Federation. To restore the economic, cultural and political sovereignty of the union republics on the basis of Lenin's understanding of Soviet Federation. To extend the rights of the union republics in the sphere of international relations.

To introduce into the USSR Constitution an article to the effect that the state property of the USSR consists of the state property of all the union republics; and that the union republics are equal managers of this property on their own territory and meet national obligations.

To shape all language policy in the republic on the basis of bilingualism. To create for persons of the non-indigenous nationality conditions to study the Lithuanian language on a voluntary basis. To create as necessary conditions for the representatives of national minorities to study in their native language in the schools.

To set up in the USSR Academy of Sciences a special scientific subdivision to work on theoretical problems in inter-ethnic relations and the international indoctrination of the population.

To organize the publication of an all-union theoretical and sociopolitical journal to be called "NATSII I NARODNOSTI SSSR."

8. Creation of the Socialist Legal State

In their proposals the workers of Soviet Lithuania fully support the proposition in the CPSU Central Committee Theses on the need to complete the creation of a socialist legal state. Taking into account the tragic pages of the past associated with personality cult, it is necessary to hasten the creation of a legal mechanism to protect the interests of the individual before the state and its organs of power. To create all material and legal guarantees for each individual to exercise his constitutional rights of freedom of speech and the press, the organization of meetings and demonstrations, and freedom of conscience.

To cut short in every possible way any violations of socialist legality. To extend the rights of the union republics in the field of legislation. To set up a special constitutional court under the USSR Supreme Soviet, made up of representatives of all the union republics, to review controversial issues.

To implement all enforceable enactments of the USSR government and of ministries and departments in line with the USSR Constitution after the introduction of amendments and changes corresponding to the present stage in the development of Soviet society. To accelerate legal reform in the country.

9. Improving the Activity of the Public Organizations

In all their activities the party organizations should rely on the extensive network of public organizations, but without replacing them. To draw up a law on the organization and function of various informal associations.

New impetus should be given to the work of the professional unions. It would be advisable to increase the representation of the trade unions in state organs, primarily at the all-union and union republic levels. To draw up a law on the trade unions. To define more precisely the relationship between the trade unions and the organs of state power.

It is essential to raise the level of party leadership in the Komsomol. There are many proposals on defining a new status for the Komsomol and for the adoption of a youth law.

To enhance the role of the councils in the labor collectives and define their functions and rights.

To give party, trade union and Komsomol organizations and the labor collectives full independence in defining the need for the creation of specific public organizations and formations.

10. CPSU Foreign Policy Activity

The fate of perestroika depends directly on the situation that takes shape in the international arena. Workers in Soviet Lithuania approved the well-considered, purposeful and peace-loving foreign policy course of the CPSU. The new political thinking is making it possible for the party to advance and implement a number of major foreign policy actions. They include the signing of the treaty to eliminate medium-range and shorter-range missiles, the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Afghanistan and other actions. It is necessary henceforth also to take the steps necessary to strengthen our country's positions in the international arena, and it is essential to strengthen the socialist community and expand links

with the developing countries, and decisively unmask the aggressive last-ditch efforts of reactionary imperialist circles and not to weaken the country's defense capabilities.

To introduce proposals to the USSR government to make foreign policy organs raise with greater insistence with the government of the United States the question of giving full recognition to the Soviet Baltic republics. To expand ties with representatives of the progressive Lithuanian emigre population. To develop and strengthen friendly ties with Erfurt District in the GDR, Hajdu-Bihar Province in Hungary, the Bialystok and Suwalki voevods in Poland, and with other countries. To give republics and individual enterprises and organizations greater rights and independence in developing international economic and cultural links.

09642

Lithuanian Party, State Official Comments on Theses Discussion

*LD2306180 Moscow Television Service in Russian
1700 GMT 23 Jun 88*

[Text] The main proposals of the Communists and working people of the republic addressed to the 19th all-union party conference have been published in the Lithuanian newspapers for general familiarization.

[Begin recording] [Correspondent Adolfas Paulyus—identified by caption] It is known that the bureau of the Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee and the delegates to the conference have received and examined over 37,000 proposals and requests during the discussion of the Theses. It would be interesting to know what their main feature is.

[L.K. Shepetis, secretary of the Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee and chairman of the Lithuanian Supreme Soviet—identified by caption] All the proposals are imbued with concern for the further expansion of democracy and glasnost, the further improvement of our economy, and the strengthening of socialism. It can be said that all the inhabitants of the republic have taken part in the elaboration of this truly unique document. All the proposals, one way or another, are based somehow on the point that an integral national economic complex, the material foundation of the Soviet peoples, has taken shape in the country and is operating. This is the thought which stands out.

At the same time, the further extension of glasnost and the elimination of blank spots in our history are being proposed everywhere; as is well known, the history of Soviet Lithuania is particularly abundant in these blank spots—both in the distant and in the contemporary history of the 20th century. A radical improvement in the teaching of history, the Lithuanian language and other languages, the Russian language, geography and so on is proposed.

The implementation of a radical economic reform, including the possibility of the introduction of regional financial autonomy on the basis of real prices, is supported.

Issues of ecology are formulated to the point. I should like to say straight out here that issues of ecology are often tied up, all the same, with a lack of understanding on the part of some all-union authorities and organs when the question of constructing huge complexes on the republic's territory is decided.

Whole sections are devoted to the development of science, education, and culture with regard for the extension of the independence of union republics in spiritual life.

There is support for the question of inserting into the Constitution of the Lithuanian SSR the Lithuanian language as a state language—it's written here [points to document on desk]—and of improving bilingualism further.

We are submitting a proposal to the Government of the Soviet Union that our country's foreign policy departments should be more insistent, active, and persistent in presenting the issue—primarily to the government of the United States and also to some other countries of the West—of the full recognition of the Soviet Baltic republics as Soviet republics, specifically. Because they have not recognized us hitherto—this, in the first place, runs counter to reality in all respects, as our people voted a long time ago, a whole half century ago, for Soviet power, and, in the second place, this somehow discriminates against us and even insults us—for this reason, we have recorded very clearly and precisely here the view that it is necessary to put a stop to this matter. In a word, all our people, the working people of the republic, are living for the conference. [end recording]

'Lithuanian Platform' on Theses Disputed
LD2806110 Vilnius in English to North America
2200 GMT 24 Jun 88

[From "The Way We Live Magazine" program]

[Text] [Announcer] A month ago the Theses of the Soviet Communist Party were put forward for nationwide discussion. The Theses assess the results achieved by the perestroika campaign, pointing to the obstacles that stand in the way and define the future steps which will be taken to democratize the Soviet society. Yesterday the national press in Lithuania published the most important suggestions and proposals made by members of the Lithuanian general public to the 19th party conference. In Lithuania about 500,000 people, both party and nonparty members took part in discussing the Theses and 1 in every 10 had the opportunity of speaking out publicly. All the proposals filed by the Lithuanian public have been carefully analyzed and generalized by Lithuania's leading political body, the Bureau of the Central

Committee of the Lithuanian Communist Party in close cooperation with the conference delegates. Although officially this term has not been used, the collection of proposals to the 19th party conference can be termed as the Lithuanian platform. Here to comment is Edvinas Butkus:

[Butkus] I, too, will use the term the Lithuanian platform, though regrettably it is not a draft project but a final document which to my mind is disputable. This became extremely clear after yesterday's meeting with several delegates to the party conference from Vilnius. Although I must admit that the most topical issues did indeed find their way into the Lithuanian platform, so according to it Lithuania seeks to achieve economic, cultural, and political sovereignty but this goal is worded in such a careful way that one gets the impression that we are afraid to hurt somebody's feelings.

But tell me, who on earth could be insulted if Lithuania, with its well-developed economic, cultural, and political ties, strengthened the commonwealth of Soviet nations while making use of these ties for its own prosperity? With this in mind, maybe after all there was no need to refrain from entering the suggestion, voiced by many, that alongside Soviet nationality, the nationality of each union republic be restored. After all, this issue is a very important element in a country's sovereignty. Nevertheless, the platform includes a proposal that the Lithuanian language be declared the state language in the Soviet Socialist Republic of Lithuania, whereas this important issue seems to have been skipped over in silence in our 10-year-old Constitution.

On the other hand, how can a truly democratic country, something that both the Theses and the Lithuanian platform seeks to achieve, allow somebody from above to decide whether we in Lithuania can have Lithuania declared the state language of our republic? If Lithuania becomes a sovereign socialist state in actual fact, I think that it could successfully resolve this and similar issues itself, on the basis of its own Constitution. Most likely, the fact that Stalin, the father of all nations, as he was once called, is resting in peace after his hard work has slipped out of somebody's minds.

Today we have got to realize that we and nobody else but we have to do the decision-making, and the future life we'll lead will depend on nobody else but ourselves and the way we manage to cope with our affairs now.

I think that some other statements formulated in the Lithuanian platform lack rationality. For example, one of the statements declares that more independence should be granted to each Soviet republic in issues dealing with national culture, education, and other areas of spiritual life. This of course is a very welcome idea and I think that it should be adopted at the party conference. But in close succession to this idea follows the proposal that the Lithuanian People's Education Ministry should take action to improve the teaching of the Lithuanian

and Russian languages in Lithuanian schools. God Almighty! Isn't that a matter of our own concern! And after this really outrageously funny proposal comes something which is very significant for the entire Soviet Union, i.e., the doctrine of compulsory secondary education, the platform states, should be dropped as something unjustified. And as it points out here that it was namely compulsory secondary education together with some other social phenomena that pushed the Soviet educational system into the deep crisis it now finds itself in.

One could speak in great length and from all kinds and angles about the Lithuanian platform because the document is indeed disputable. Having in mind the limited space of time I would like nevertheless stop at one important point: "We suggest that the foreign department of the Soviet Government body seek all ways to ensure that the United States Government recognizes the Soviet Baltic republics.

Why the United States does not recognize the Soviet Baltic republics of Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania after 48 years of existence and whether this position is grounded or not is different story. But the fact is that with each year more and more Americans are coming to Lithuania both on business and as tourists. Likewise the number of Lithuanians traveling to the United States is increasing at dramatic rates. This is the reality and future prospects of this development seem to be promising. But what will change in our lives if all of a sudden the United States Government recognizes Lithuania as a sovereign socialist republic? Will our life really become better?

And what happens if one administration does decide to recognize it whereas the next dismisses the recognition act? Although I must admit at this point that the situation would be viewed differently if the United States Government took action out of its own accord to recognize the Soviet Baltic republics as sovereign. But, as I mentioned earlier, it's up to us to achieve the sovereignty we so strive to have."

By this time my criticism, perhaps, will have raised the question in your mind: What was my personal contribution to the Lithuanian platform?

Well, I had the opportunity as everybody else to put forward a suggestion which I think is very important. After the conference is over, I said during one of meetings, we will assess reality on a set of new criteria endorsed at the conference. With this in mind I suggested that all the elected party bodies from rank-and-file level to the very top give full account its members on the basis of the newly worked out criteria. And should anybody fail to pass this test of democracy there should be a call for preliminary elections. In this way, I argued at the meeting, the fresh blood in the party apparatus would place the process of reconstruction or perestroika in full gear.

Unfortunately, as you might understand, my suggestion was not included into the Lithuanian platform. But I have a secret hope that some other delegation to the 19th party conference will put it forward or that this idea will come into being amidst the heated discussions in the Palace of Congresses at the conference.

Meanwhile the countdown has begun and there are only 4 days left before this important event takes place.

Grossu Reviews Restructuring, Discussion of Conference Theses

18000501 Kishinev SOVETSKAYA MOLDAVIYA
in Russian 17 Jun 88 pp 1-2

[Article by S. K. Grossu, first secretary of the Moldavian Communist Party, under the rubric "Toward the 19th All-Union Party Conference": "With the Irreversible Course of Restructuring"; first four paragraphs italicized]

[Text] Fewer and fewer days remain until the beginning of the 19th All-Union Party Conference which has been called upon, as M. S. Gorbachev stressed at the May (1988) Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee, to establish the political, ideological and organizational prerequisites to not only guarantee the irreversibility of restructuring and democratization, but to contribute resolutely to the development of these processes and their intensification.

Since April 1985, the turning point for the fortunes of socialist construction, our country has been in continuous motion and regeneration. Society is changing and we ourselves are changing. All aspects of the life of labor collectives, state and public organizations, and the party itself have been affected by the economy's practical advancement based on the new methods of management, the solution of a broad range of urgent social problems, and the affirmation of glasnost and democratization. This is a specific manifestation of restructuring and the country's entry into a new period of development, for which economic stability, gradual improvement in the people's life and state of health, and efficient utilization of the socialist system's potential are becoming characteristic.

However, restructuring, just as any other dialectical process, has raised a considerable number of difficult and ambiguous questions. In addition, conservatism and dogmatism in thinking, chronic adherence to what is customary and routine, and the gap between words and practical deeds have not been overcome completely. Restructuring has not yet become an intrinsic requirement of every person.

All the same, we have every justification for saying that a truly nationwide struggle for radical reforms and regeneration, for a healthy moral and psychological climate in organic combination with a search everywhere for the new forms of management and their active

application, is even now, when the restructuring process is just gaining momentum, producing positive results in both the economic and social areas of our life.

In Moldavia, the national income produced in 1987 was increased by 10.9 percent over the 1985 level, compared with 9.4 percent under the five-year plan. This entire increase was obtained through improved labor productivity, which rose by 11 percent over the 2 years. During this period the average annual rates of industrial development were 5.7 percent, compared with 4.9 percent in the 11th Five-Year Plan. The growth rate of the machine building complex reached 23.2 percent over the past 2 years. The best results were achieved by the labor collectives working under the new management conditions. This year, the rate of growth in production volume for the group of these enterprises is twice as high as the indicators for industry as a whole.

The areas of the republic's national economy which are making sure that the party's strong social policy is implemented are given close attention. The plans for consumer goods production for 2 years of the five-year plan were fulfilled by 101.5 percent; above-plan production of these commodities was valued at 151 million rubles. The average annual rate of increase in the production of cultural-personal and household commodities exceeded the average for industry, amounting to 8 percent.

Agricultural workers fulfilled the plan for 2 years of the five-year plan ahead of schedule for the sale of animal products to the state, delivering 65,600 tons of meat, 138,500 tons of milk, and 113 million eggs over the past 2 years. The plan for 2 years' sales of wool to the state was overfulfilled by a factor of 1.5. The socialist pledges on the productivity of dairy herds were fulfilled. The production and purchases of hothouse and early vegetables were increased.

A large-scale housing construction program has been implemented. The average annual rates of increase for the commissioning of housing, utilizing the limits of capital investment, and construction and installation operations during 1986-1987 exceed those that were planned. The overall area of dwellings put into use through all sources of financing was 919,000 square meters more than in the corresponding period of the previous five-year plan. The number of general education schools, polyclinics, children's preschool institutions, and hospitals that were put into use was increased. The volume of retail commodity turnover exceeded the target for 2 years of the five-year plan by 129 million rubles and the plan for providing everyday services to the population was fulfilled by 101.4 percent.

These are some of the positive results in the republic's socioeconomic development. They are the result of the growing public and labor activity by the masses and their resolve to bring restructuring to completion. But it is very important today to critically assess what has been

accomplished and to see the serious shortcomings and neglect in resolving urgent national economic problems, in fulfilling plans, and in creating appropriate conditions for the workers' everyday life and relaxation.

It should be noted first of all that restructuring of the economy is not proceeding as effectively as we would like. Inertia has its effect and there are relapses into management methods utilizing administrative pressure. Certain persons are attempting to evade the Law on the State Enterprise. Not all labor collectives have become active in looking for and utilizing reserves for production and its intensification and in strengthening discipline, order, and the quality of organization. At the same time, should we be surprised that many industrial enterprises (every fourth one, on the average) are not coping with the plan to deliver output in accordance with contracts? The volume of products that were not delivered in 1986 was valued at 134.2 million rubles, but the value of goods undelivered in 1987 was 199.8 million rubles.

Or take the plant growing sector of agriculture. Many problems have accumulated here which cannot be explained solely by unfavorable weather conditions. For the 2 years of the 12th Five-Year Plan the debt to the state consists of 179,100 tons of grain, 30,900 tons of sunflower, 1,315,200 tons of sugar beets, 102,000 tons of vegetables, and 325,100 tons of fruit.

A number of social problems are not being fully resolved and lag behind the preliminary plans. There are the costs primarily for shortcomings in organizing construction. The plans for putting housing into use, if all sources of financing are taken in total terms, have not been fulfilled. The plans for construction of a number of social and cultural projects have been disrupted as well. Over the 2-year period, 356.5 million rubles in capital investments, including 216 million rubles for construction and installation operations, were not utilized. The reasons for the situation that has taken shape and ways of resolving the problem of housing and development of the social and cultural area were examined in detail at a session of the Moldavian SSR Supreme Soviet in early June.

Effective steps are being taken in the republic to make up for the lag in developing a number of production sectors permitted for 2 years and 5 months. Many labor collectives have set themselves the objective of not only overfulfilling the annual plan, but the targets for 3 years of the five-year plan as well. More than 16,000 workers, 7 enterprises, and 436 brigades, shops, sections and farms have pledged to complete fulfillment of the plans for 3 years of the five-year plan by the opening of the party conference. The inclusion of new reserves in the work is one of the important conditions for reaching the planned levels for such indicators as national income, productivity of public labor, the output of industrial items, the output of animal products, and a number of other indicators.

Realization of the task that has been set requires that the efforts of the republic's party, soviet, and economic organs and city and rayon party organizations be concentrated on establishing the conditions necessary for efficient work in the primary unit—enterprises, so that the steps for the transition to conditions of cost accounting and self-financing, for the introduction of new forms of labor and production organization, and for improvement in the style and methods of party organizations' management of the economy become more objective and specific.

The new general plan for management of the national economy should hold an important place in the system of measures for shifting to the new conditions of economic operation. In accordance with it, it is planned to reduce the number of union-republic and republic ministries and departments in the Moldavian SSR from 50 to 35 units, and the organizational structures of the central staff of ministries and departments will be restructured with the transfer of a large part of the functions they perform to enterprises and associations, as well as to local management organs. It is planned to reduce the number of personnel in the central organization of ministries and departments by 50 percent on this basis. Management staffing (republic, city and rayon) will be reduced by 9,300 persons in the republic as a whole by restructuring management of the national economy.

A great deal has to be done, and anyone who assesses the situation realistically cannot help but see that the task of economic and social acceleration can be accomplished only by selfless labor every day and an active, vigorous attitude. Restructuring and regeneration are not a tactical business maneuver. They have been called upon to ensure success in resolving vital problems, and the problem of meeting the material and spiritual needs of the people first of all.

Discussion of the CPSU Central Committee Theses for the 19th All-Union Party Conference is under way everywhere these days. This most important party document, which has been imbued with boldness and innovation of thought and the resolve to develop democratic reforms and improve the political structure, and which has been called upon to work for acceleration and the vitalization of public life, has been received with great interest by communists and all workers in the republic. For the first time in nearly a half century, the party leadership has invited its rank and file members and all the people to discuss and deliberate together on the means, content, and forms of restructuring and its immediate and long-range objectives, and to analyze self-critically what has already been accomplished and what still remains to be done.

And the people have responded to this invitation, to the party's call to express their opinions on the platform from which it will meet the party conference. Many meetings have been held in each labor collective and

primary party organization and at the people's places of residence, and concerned discussions have been held on the Theses and the urgent problems of restructuring raised in them. More than 10,000 such meetings have been held. The workers have expressed their whole-hearted support at them for the practical work of the CPSU Central Committee and its line of fundamental reforms in the life of our society. About 6,000 comments and suggestions, nearly half of which relate to restructuring in the party itself, have been made on all sections of the Theses. A large number of them have been published in the republic and local press and broadcast on radio and television.

Communists are suggesting specific steps to give more independence to party organizations, improve their structure, increase the role of members of electoral organs, democratize admittance to the party and work with personnel, simplify record-keeping, and many other measures which make it possible to do away with formalism more rapidly and bring internal party activity closer to the vital requirements of restructuring.

The list of questions raised could be continued. But the main point is not the number but the orientation of these questions, aimed at decisive changes, at affirming the democratization, glasnost, and development of public initiative that are vitally necessary and at creating a healthy moral atmosphere everywhere.

Today we have grounds for saying that after the April (1985) Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee and the Central Committee's adoption of certain resolutions on Moldavia, party committees and primary party organizations in the republic have been actively engaged in looking for ways to improve the style and methods of organizational and ideological work. Many party committees are rejecting the sectorial principle in organizing their activity and are boldly shifting emphasis to the provision of more practical assistance to primary party organizations and labor collectives. Democratic principles are being reinforced in the selection and placement of personnel, substitution and dissociation are being overcome in work with primary party organizations, and political methods of management are being assimilated.

The role and place of the headquarters of the republic party organization—its Central Committee—is being reinterpreted. The Seventh Central Committee Plenum, which discussed the report of the Central Committee Bureau on the direction of restructuring, provided good impetus for this. Permanent groups for the directions of work, headed by Central Committee secretaries, were formed after it to increase the role of members of the elective organ. Members of these groups are taking an active part in studying the various problems of cities and rayons and in preparing materials for discussion at the Central Committee plenum and in other forums. In addition, they have begun assisting local party organs in resolving the complex central problems of the economy by political means and in improving ideology and party

organization work. Only the first steps have been taken, but we think that this form of work will eliminate impulsive actions and superficiality and will make it possible to study the state of affairs more thoroughly and provide practical assistance in localities firsthand.

The success of the restructuring processes crucially depends on the party's reinterpretation of its role as society's political vanguard. The key to a solution of this problem is the need to create political mechanisms and guarantees which rule out possible violation of the Leninist principles of the party's leadership of society and which do not permit the old to win a victory over the seedlings of regeneration. The first steps made in this direction are well-known. There are glasnost, freedom of expression, and the pluralism of opinions. There are the alternative elections of leaders at various levels by secret ballot. There is constructive criticism, for which there no restricted areas now.

The party is proceeding further. Taking into account the opinions expressed at the party meetings and in the press, the CPSU Central Committee advanced a number of specific proposals in its Theses, intending to examine them at the conference. They have met with widespread approval and development in the republic. In particular, the idea of creating a single control and auditing organ which would become, like the Central Committee, the highest organ of party authority, but only with control functions, is being supported. The presence of such a "party and proletarian conscience," in the Leninist expression, in the form of a Central Control Commission provides a maximum number of guarantees against possible errors, abuses of authority, and violations of the Leninist standards of party life.

A significant number of the proposals were aimed at turning the Soviets of People's Deputies into competent organs of authority in local areas and increasing their role in the economic and social development of their territories. Our attention is drawn in this connection to the composition of the highest organ of state authority in the republic. At present, the majority of managers of ministries and departments are at the same time members of the leading collegial organ of the Moldavian Communist Party and deputies of the republic's Supreme Soviet. I believe that such a practice needs to be reviewed.

The CPSU Central Committee intends to reexamine and outline steps for further development of the Soviet federation and international relationships at the 19th All-Union Party Conference. The party's political course toward meeting the interests of all peoples, bringing them closer together and providing for their mutual assistance, and our internationalist ideology, which is incompatible with maximalist deviations, are a positive basis for resolving the problems cited. It is precisely this

policy which promotes the development of the economic, cultural, and personnel potential of each Soviet republic and is a guarantee that each people and nationality will prosper separately.

Representatives of 115 peoples and nationalities are now residing in Moldavian territory. At the same time, it is not out of place to note that the basic features of the current composition of nationalities in the republic took shape a long time ago. The numbers of each of the nationalities residing here do not remain unchanged, of course, although their relationship, especially between the basic national groups, has changed little. Thus, the proportion of Moldavians in the population as a whole was 65.4 percent in 1959, but 63.9 percent in 1979. In these same years, Ukrainians made up 14.6 and 14.2 percent of the population and Russians comprised 10.2 and 12.8 percent, respectively.

Significant changes took place with respect to the republic's urban and rural population in the postwar period. Urban population rose from 13 percent in 1940 to 46 percent in 1986. This also has led to a change in the national composition of the cities. In the 1959-1979 period, the proportion of persons of indigenous nationality in Kishinev alone increased from 32.3 to 42 percent, whereas the proportion of Russians and Ukrainians decreased.

One of the problems which concern people in the republic is the language problem. This is completely understandable: language is a means of intercourse, the "repository" of spiritual values, and in general one of the important signs of a people's existence. The April (1985) Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee gave new impetus to the increasing interest in linguistic matters. As stressed in resolutions by the Moldavian Communist Party Central Committee and the MoSSR Council of Ministers on this question, the development of Moldavian-Russian bilingualism is the main direction in linguistic policy. It must be stated frankly that not everything outlined in these documents is being implemented with the proper persistence and consistency and that the complaints made to party and soviet organizations in the republic in this connection are fully justified.

The problems which arise in nationality policy can be resolved in only one way, I believe—by strengthening society's unity not through administrative pressure, but by developing democracy in every way possible. Any hasty conclusions drawn in matters of bilingualism and the entire gamut of relationships among peoples are harmful and dangerous. A sober, sensible approach, discretion and careful consideration are needed.

The problems of a people's culture are many-faceted. Their resolution depends on many things. The material base plays an important role here. The necessary conditions have been created in the republic for developing enlightenment, secondary and higher education, public health, different types of crafts, and national literature.

As an example, in just the past 2 years, the number of seats provided for students was increased by 1.9 times as many and the number of seats in preschool institutions was increased by 1.6 times as many. This makes it possible for 85.4 percent of those attending school to study in the first session (77.5 percent for the Union) and for 70.5 percent of the children to be provided with public preschool education (58 percent for the Union).

Nevertheless, we cannot consider what we have at our disposal for spiritual development to be adequate. We still do not have enough up-to-date schools, kindergartens, clubs, libraries, places of entertainment, athletic facilities, and museums. This was pointedly and objectively mentioned at the Eighth Congress of the Moldavian Communist Party Central Committee. Our republic exceeds the average national indicator and existing norms today for the number of accommodations in club institutions per 1,000 residents, although more than 700 clubs and palaces of culture have been put in facilities that have been adapted, and many of them are in need of major repair. There is a critical shortage of equipment, especially furniture and musical instruments, in them.

We can also refer to a number of objective reasons, of course: these include the aftereffects of earthquakes, high population density, and finally, the shorter historical period assigned to Moldavia, compared with many other republics, for implementing socioeconomic reforms. Nevertheless, the principal reason is seen in the residual principle of the approach to construction of cultural projects, which took root during the years of stagnation. We should add to that the fact that contracting organizations are lagging seriously in implementing the plans to build cultural projects.

Party, soviet, and economic organs are to take specific steps at present to fully assimilate the capital investments allocated to reinforce the material base of cultural institutions. While 37 clubs and palaces of culture to accommodate 16,000 persons were commissioned in 1986 and 1987, 74 such institutions to accommodate 32,000 persons will be built in the remaining years of the five-year plan. In addition, steps are being outlined for the transfer of buildings made available after the staffing reduction in state institutions to educational and cultural institutions. Thus, the administration building of the "Viktoriya" Production Association which is under construction has been replanned, and the capital's Youth House and the "Likurich" puppet theater will soon be given a housewarming in it. The building for a former men's preparatory school, which has essentially been rebuilt, has been transferred to a historical museum.

It is difficult to comment on all the suggestions coming from the workers within the confines of an article. Discussion of the political, economic and spiritual problems which have arisen is keen, in the spirit of democratic freedoms. Many of the arguments and discussions and the different opinions are peremptory and contradictory at times. And this is completely natural: in laying

the foundation for a democratic building, it is apparent that a certain amount of unnecessary emotion, fussiness, and rashness in opinions cannot be avoided at first. The new frontiers of glasnost are won and defended in the struggle and the clash of opinions, the discussion is about what is vital, and the process of building is carried out.

All the suggestions have been summarized and sent to the CPSU Central Committee. The delegates to the 19th All-Union Party Conference that were elected by the republic party organization have been fully informed about them. The question is sometimes raised in certain labor collectives: who is empowered to speak on behalf of the communists of Moldavia at the party conference? A great deal has been published in our press which gives an exhaustive answer to this question. They are all worthy people who are capable of contributing to the successful solution of the problems facing the All-Union Party Conference.

Someone may not have liked the procedure for their nomination, and someone may have wanted to see another communist among the delegates. All this is understandable. First of all, however, there have been no deviations in the republic from the nomination procedure established by the CPSU Central Committee and the CPSU Rules. And in the second place, it is not fitting to turn the fact that one comrade or another was selected or not selected into a subject of offense and ambitions. Attempts to establish that the nominations were imposed and that the results of the elections are causing disillusionment are unjustified.

Formation of the corps of delegates was carried out by discussion and nomination in open party meetings, expanded sessions of party committees and bureos, and meetings of the active membership with the broad participation of nonparty members and representatives of public organizations. More than 8,500 persons took part in them, and more than 600 spoke. The communist participants in the meetings displayed deep interest in the selection of true supporters of restructuring and those who have every right to take part in the important party forum. In the primary party organizations in the Frunzenskiy, Oktyabrskiy, Kriulyanskiy, Rybnitskiy and Chadyr-Lungskiy Rayons and a number of other rayons in the republic, they held discussions for the purpose of nominating two to four candidates each.

A considerable number of communists known throughout the republic were among the delegates. For example, take Honored Builder of the Moldavian SSR N. M. Omelyan. He himself is an innovator in spirit, the kind that is necessary to be a communist. The brigade he leads was the first in the republic to master the shift method, and he has been working under contract for over 10 years. He is the author of the book "Perestroyku nachni s sebya" [Begin Restructuring With Yourself]. It contains frank arguments about the complex and difficult problems of construction work and thoughts about ways to resolve them. N. M. Omelyan is engaged in important

public work, and he is a deputy in the MoSSR Supreme Soviet and a member of the Moldavian Communist Party Auditing Commission.

A principled, concerned communist with initiative who is capable of thinking and acting in an uncommon way. These characteristics were noted in the course of discussions about B. G. Zhalba, chief physician of the district hospital in the village of Zbersaya in Nisporenskiy Rayon; S. I. Fomin, fitters brigade leader at the "Elektrotochpribor" Plant in the "Volna" Production Association; A. V. Simashkevich, a department head in the state university; Ye. I. Moldovana, leader of a viticulture brigade in the "Kodry" Agroindustrial Combine in Ungenskiy Rayon; V. G. Apostol, chief director of the Russian Drama Theater imeni A. P. Chekhov; and others.

There is no doubt that all the delegates from the Moldavian Communist Party justify the high trust of the republic's communists and demonstrate adherence to principles and persistence in discussing the fundamental problems of restructuring. They will reaffirm the credit of trust and the mandate to resolve fundamental political problems by deeds. All of them have already been actively included in preparations for the All-Union Party Conference. Each one of them is meeting with persons, addressing the workers, and setting forth his position and the thoughts that he will take with him to the party forum. The delegates are addressing a number of problems in the republic and local press and are speaking on radio and television. The Moldavian Communist Party Central Committee is ensuring that conditions are provided for the conference delegates to receive the necessary information and prepare themselves actively for the work ahead. A decision has been made to establish an information and consultation center for the delegates at the Political Enlightenment Center of the Moldavian Communist Party Central Committee.

The republic's workers are sincerely interested in the thorough preparations and the success of the 19th All-Union Party Conference. They are studying the CPSU Central Committee Theses with a great deal of attention and, I would say, with passion. The opinions of the people today touch upon literally all facets of their life. Their revolutionary energy is being strengthened and they are increasingly aware of the fact that unity and consolidation of forces in society based on principle are necessary now, that it is more helpful for the fortunes of restructuring to concentrate attention on difficulties and costs, and that the process of reform is not a momentary action, but one that is objectively slow and complex. The people believe in the irreversibility of restructuring and are fully resolved to carry it through.

Moldavian CC Buro Passes Resolution on Theses Discussion

18000518 Kishinev SOVETSKAYA MOLDAVIYA
in Russian 25 Jun 88 p 1

[Text] The Buro of the Moldavian CP Central Committee has adopted a decree entitled "On the Results of Discussion of the Theses of the CPSU Central Committee for the 19th All-Union Party Conference in the Republic Party Organization and Among the Workers of the Republic and on the Instructions, Proposals, and Objections Expressed to the Delegates to the Conference."

The decree notes that preparation for the 19th All-Union Party Conference, called, as emphasized at the May (1988) Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee, to create the political, ideological, and organizational prerequisites that would guarantee not only the irreversibility of restructuring and democratization, but would also resolutely facilitate the initiation and deepening of these processes, have been completed in the republic.

A most important part of the preparatory effort was the comprehensive discussion in party organizations and among the republic's workers of the platform of the CPSU Central Committee set forth in the Theses of the party's Central Committee for the 19th All-Union Party Conference. Some 18,600 meetings were held, including 5,370 party meetings, more than 10,000 meetings in work collectives, and 3,200 in public organizations; about 1 million people took part in them, and 1 out of every 10 took part in the discussion. More than 54,000 proposals and observations concerning all sections of the Theses were expressed.

In the course of the discussion that was held, party members and people outside the party not only approved and supported the line of the CPSU Central Committee, they even displayed a rising level of citizenship, political activity, and personal responsibility for the fate of restructuring, a desire to really achieve strong and unshakable guarantees of its irreversibility. The vitality of the ideas of restructuring were at the same time directly related to the fruitful effort of the upcoming party forum and dependent upon the principled position taken by its delegates.

Delegates to the 19th All-Union Party Conference from the Moldavian CP took an active and interested part in the discussion of the Theses of the CPSU Central Committee. They presented an exposition of their positions in meetings in 267 party organizations and work collectives, they held 554 individual meetings and talks in collectives of workers, educational institutions, and neighborhoods. Some 160 statements by delegates were published in the pages of the local and republic press and broadcast over radio and television. A large number of directions, proposals, and observations were addressed to them, above all concerning problems related to

democratization of all aspects of the life of our society, to accomplishment of radical economic reform, and to solving a broad range of social problems.

The discussion preceding the conference has been related to a considerable degree to the restructuring of the style and work methods of the party itself and of its internal life. Participants in it proposed specific steps to give greater independence to party organizations, to improve their structure, to enhance the role of members of elective bodies, to democratize enrollment in the party and work with personnel, to simplify paperwork, and many others aimed at resolutely getting away from formalism and bringing internal party activity closer to the real needs of restructuring.

A substantial portion of the proposals were aimed at improving the political system of our society, at working out a firm constitutional order, at developing a Soviet federation and interethnic relations. The opinion was expressed everywhere that there needs to be clearer delineation of the functions of party, soviet, and economic authorities, and an unswerving enhancement of the role of soviets of people's deputies. Quite a few proposals were expressed on the problems of the economic reform, the development of science, culture, and public education, and greater independence and effectiveness of public structures.

A significant feature of the collective council that has been convened were the critical examination by party members and a majority of the workers of their own place in restructuring, a search for ways to eliminate the present shortcomings in economic practice, social practice, and internal party practice, to overcome the surviving manifestations of conservatism, dogmatism, and stereotypes of bureaucratic thinking at both the local level and also at the republic and central levels. Proposals which had not been sufficiently thought through or were even unacceptable were also expressed; as a rule they were dictated by a lack of full understanding of the difficulties and contradictions of the processes of restructuring, by a detachment from real life, and by a lack of the necessary information.

The meeting of delegates with the republic's party aktiv, held on the eve of the conference, was an important political measure of a summary nature. Its participants were unanimous on the point that during preparation for the 19th All-Union Party Conference the republic party organization had been enriched with new experience in political and organizational activity and comprehensive expansion of democratic processes.

The Moldavian CP Central Committee has approved the results of the effort made to discuss the Theses of the CPSU Central Committee for the 19th All-Union Party Conference among party members and workers of Moldavian SSR. It expressed a high opinion of the interested attitude of an absolute majority of the participants in the discussion, regarding it as a vigorous patriotic aspiration

of the people to speed up the processes of restructuring in the republic and to make their own contribution to the cause of strengthening the authority of the party and the country as a whole. The Central Committee especially emphasized the importance of the broadly displayed consciousness of each person's personal participation in developing and carrying out the party's revolutionary policy, in strengthening our multinational homeland, and in protecting the achievements of the October Revolution.

The Moldavian CP Central Committee noted the active participation in the preparatory effort of all the delegates to the conference elected by the Moldavian CP and the thoroughness and significance of the conversation held in their meetings with party members, the party aktiv, workers, and the public.

The Central Committee recommended to the party members who are delegates that they be firmly guided by the main instruction of the republic party organization—that they take an active part in working out the decisions of the conference, which have crucial importance to the party and people, that they make specific proposals related to development of restructuring in the political and spiritual spheres, in the economic domain, in social life, in internal party relations, proposals which incorporate the numerous thoughts and recommendations of the rank-and-file party members and workers of the republic.

The Central Committee has ordered party committees and primary party organizations in the republic and bodies of state and economic administration to thoroughly analyze the results of the discussion of the Theses of the CPSU Central Committee and the orders, recommendations, and observations addressed to the conference and its delegates. They are to determine their own place in solving the problems raised and to take exhaustive steps to implement them in practice.

Secretaries of party committees and primary party organizations and party members in positions of leadership have been given a recommendation to personally follow up in a planned and systematic way on the course of this effort and to regularly inform party organizations and work collectives concerning the results.

The republic's party organizations have been ordered to be more resolute in invigorating internal party life, to set an example in restructuring, and to intensify political and ideological influence in the masses on the basis of the discussion held of the Theses of the CPSU Central Committee and an analysis of the preparatory effort and also in the light of the decisions of the upcoming 19th All-Union Party Conference.

They themselves need to learn persistently and to teach people to live and to work in the context of expanding democracy and glasnost, to fully revive in all collectives

without exception an atmosphere of openness, discussion, criticism, and self-criticism, party comradeship and discipline, and collectivism and personal responsibility.

The Moldavian CP Central Committee has called upon public organizations and creative unions of the republic to step up their efforts toward constructive goals, to establish a wholesome moral and psychological atmosphere, and to figure as an important factor in consolidating all the forces of true fighters for restructuring.

In the present stage, the entire community is called upon to substantially step up its effort to teach people internationalism and patriotism and to form in everyone high political sophistication, respect for Soviet laws and moral values, steadfast rejection of all manifestations of nationalism, chauvinism, social inertness, and demagogery.

The mass media, which have made no small effort to carry out restructuring, have been given a recommendation to pay more attention to a competent portrayal of the full complexity and crucial nature of the tasks to be performed and the political judiciousness of all articles and programs, so that they do not allow inaccuracies and superficial evaluations.

The Moldavian CP Central Committee has called upon all work collectives in the republic, party members, and those outside the party to concentrate their efforts on unconditional performance of the crucial economic and social tasks of the 12th FYP, to decisively overcome a situation in which the painful problems of supplying food, housing, and everyday goods to the public are being dealt with unsatisfactorily and in which measures to improve the ecological situation are being carried out with intolerable slowness. Taking advantage of the broad opportunities extended by the USSR Law on the State Enterprise (Association) and the Law on Cooperation, the activity of the workers to manage production, to carry out the radical economic reform, and to monitor the activity of supervisory personnel should be enhanced.

In its decree the Moldavian CP Central Committee emphasizes that the most important cause of party members and those outside the party, workers, kolkhoz members, the intelligentsia, and representatives of all the republic's nationalities is to consolidate and unify efforts on the principled platform of restructuring on behalf of speeding up the socioeconomic development of the republic and of the country as a whole.

07045

University Conference Candidates Discussed
PM1706144 Moscow MOSCOW NEWS in English
No 22, May 88 pp 8-9

[Mark Vodovozov report: "What Happened at Moscow University"]

[Text] On May 15 REUTERS spread information from its Moscow correspondent under the title "Revolt at Moscow University During Communist Party Election." It says in part: "Communist Party members at Moscow University revolted last week during an election of delegates to a major June party conference on Kremlin reform, sources who were present said on Sunday. They said the hall erupted in a storm of protest when leaders of the meeting announced that University rector Anatoli Logunov and the head of the University Party branch were the official candidates for the University's two delegates. Shouts of 'We want Gavriil Popov' rang out and the storm subsided only when his name was added to the candidate list. Popov, an economist, is a leading proponent of the reform drive of Kremlin leader Mikhail Gorbachev. The election was conducted by secret ballot and Popov emerged as the strong winner, with more than 90 per cent of the vote."

About 3,200 out of the 8,000 Communists of Moscow University (MU) took part in the nomination of delegates to the 19th all-union party conference. The students and teachers of some faculties were not at the nomination of the candidates, because discussion of the delegates at open Party meetings and in work collectives was replaced by large-scale meetings of the Party committees. This procedure can hardly be called democratic. At an open meeting the Communists at the economics faculty adopted a resolution which condemned this method of candidate nomination.

It Is Hard To Learn Democracy

"I'm not satisfied with the pre-election campaign," said A. Nikishenkov, secretary of the Party bureau of the history faculty. "I think a mistake was made in the very procedure of elections."

"It is hard for us to learn democracy," S. Tumanov, deputy secretary of the MU Party committee, said. "All the Communists knew the materials of the June Plenary Meeting. The time for the nomination of delegates to the Party Conference was clearly set—April-May. But the Leninskiy District Party Committee of Moscow waited for directives from the city Party committee, and our Party committee waited for directives from the district Party committee, and so on. As a result, we had only two days for all the discussions."

The result of this clamour was that out of the 32 primary Party organizations, open meetings were held only in 11 (in one of them it was, for some reason, a closed meeting), and in 18—meetings of Party activists or large-scale meetings of Party committees were held. And

two faculties—mechanics and mathematics, and biology—held their meetings later on, when the results of the nomination had already been summed up.

"Today not a single person at the University is satisfied with the nomination," Tumanov added.

Those who were nominated by the University probably feel just as dissatisfied. Both the rector of MU A. Logunov and E. Yershov, the secretary of the MU Party committee, are worthy people. But in conditions of developing democracy, the old order of nomination from the top was of bad service to them.

The faculties nominated, all told, 17 candidates. But the University Party committee "offered" only two of them "for discussion" to all the University sectors. The people who voted against the two, more often voted not against them personally, but against them as "designating a decision from above".

The Communists of the biology faculty had held their meeting after official nomination of the candidates from the University was completed.

"400 people got together, but many wanted to know what for, because everything was already decided," K. Burdin, secretary of the Party organization of the faculty, said. "However, A. Kuvayev, head of the organizational department of the Leninskiy District Party-Committee, who attended our meeting, assured the Communists that the results of our voting would be considered together with those of other meetings."

"What are the results?"

"G. Popov, MU professor, got the greatest number of votes, then—Academician V. Sokolov and E. Yershov, secretary of the MU Party committee."

I telephoned Tumanov, at the Party committee, once again.

"Can the newly elected people be introduced as candidate delegates to the Party Conference?"

"Hardly. The University candidates have already been recommended."

Candidate's Opinion

We decided to talk with professor G. Popov about the information given out by REUTERS.

"During these days I was too busy and didn't go to the University. So, I'm no good as a witness. But I can still confirm that the information does not conform to reality in many ways. General meetings of Communists have not been held at Moscow University for a long time now—due to the size of the Party organization, it's just impossible. But neither was a conference held at the

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University recently, as alleged. It is true that my candidature was supported by several faculties. But it is not true that I was elected a candidate. The Party committee nominated A. Logunov and E. Yershov as candidates."

"What do you think of your name being nominated at some faculties?"

"The University is all for me. I studied here and became a scientist here. Thirty years ago I joined the Party, became a doctor of Science then a professor. I am a citizen and an academic. And if it's true that I really was nominated by the leading faculties—physicists, chemists, biologists, cyberneticists, historians and geographers—then I can only feel proud.

"I was sure that, sooner or later in our country, candidates would start to be nominated not as they have been traditionally, but from below. I tried to bring this situation nearer, through I didn't really believe that I'd live to see such times, apparently, I underestimated the mighty beginning in each one of us—the desire to be master of society and not just a pawn in someone's hands."

"What do you think about your name not being on the final list of candidates from Moscow University?"

"If I and other candidates like me got our names onto the lists easily that would create the illusion that the main problems of perestroika are already solved, but the entire struggle is ahead and obstacles at the first stages prepare people for it much more than easy victories do. University means scientists, and future scientists. They all know that an experiment is rarely successful at the very first attempt. Success depends on the ability to analyze, to learn lessons and to repeat them over and over again. These lessons will be learned:

"The lesson in relation to the ability of bureaucracy 'to straighten up.'

"The lesson of not treating the election of a Party bureau and a Party committee as something scientists don't have to bother with.

"The lesson of being able to call Party meetings ourselves.

"All these lessons are so important that they overshadow the more persona issue of who will become a candidate for the Conference. Perestroika can win only if we are all active. We're learning perestroika. Sooner or later we'll learn to turn our majority into victories."

Grossu Addresses Moldavian Delegate Election

Plenum

18000434a Kishinev SOVETSKAYA MOLDAVIYA
in Russian 21 May 88 pp 1-2

[“On the Election of Delegates to the 19th CPSU All-Union Party Conference. Report of the Moldavian Communist Party Central Committee First Secretary S.K. Grossu”]

[Text] Little more than a month remains to the day when the 19th CPSU All-Union Conference will open in Moscow. It will become an important milestone in the further unfolding of perestroika.

The conference has to take stock of the political experience gained since the 27th CPSU Congress, discuss the tasks for party organizations in deepening the process of perestroika, and define the new, non-command nature of the leading activity of the party and ways to effect cardinal transformations in the sphere of the economy and further democratize life throughout society.

The communist party is engaged in active preparations for its important forum. The CPSU Central Committee Theses for the Conference will very soon be published in the press. We must discuss them extensively in the primary party organizations and through efforts by the party and the ideological aktiv inform the broad masses of workers. It will be necessary to generalize opinions, comments and proposals on the CPSU Central Committee Theses on an immediate basis and develop on their basis a unified viewpoint on the attitude of the communists and workers in the republic toward them, and also react in a skilled and immediate manner to factors concerning the activity of the local organs.

One important stage in the preparations for the upcoming conference is the great amount of preparatory work being done to select its future delegates. The discussion started long since in the party and in the country on whom to entrust with conducting the discussions and making the decisions. The nature of this discussion confirms most obviously the steady development of intraparty democracy and the affirmation within society of an atmosphere capable of a thinking that is out of the ordinary and of increasing social activeness on the part of the workers.

Already for several months communists in the republic have been taking part in this discussion in an attentive, keen and active manner. No one is indifferent. People are making their choice with a sense of their party and civic rights of initiative in nominating candidates. Over the past 2 weeks work on the selection of candidates in the republic's party organizations has reached its final stage. Today we must consider the question of the election of representatives from the republic party organizations to the 19th All-Union Party Conference.

As you know, the CPSU Central Committee June (1987) Plenum confirmed the norm for representation: one delegate per 3,780 party members. Elections are to be held by (secret) ballot in which only members of the Moldavian Communist Party will take part. The voting procedure is defined by the CPSU Rules and the appropriate instructions on voting in the party organs.

Proceeding from the numerical strength of the Moldavian Communist Party we must select 52 delegates. Representative selection of candidates, in which an absolute majority of those present participated, has taken place at the level of the primary party organizations and the city and rayon party organizations. No specific principles were issued at that time with regard to the makeup of delegates in terms of personnel at the local level. The bench mark in the selection of future delegates for the conference was that they be active supporters of perestroika from among the workers, kolkhoz farmers, experts in the various sectors of the national economy, representatives of science, culture, education and the creative unions, party and soviet workers, and leaders and activists in the public organizations. M.S. Gorbachev once again reminded us of this important political principle when speaking at a meeting with leaders from the mass media, ideological establishments and creative unions. To what he said we might add that priority has been given to those organizations that for a long time have not had their own representatives at all-union party forums.

The version of the list of candidate that will be presented to you for discussion represents 34 rayon and city party organizations out of 49. This includes 8 of the 10 that have not had their own communists as delegates at the last three CPSU congresses. It is not out of place to note that this degree of representation is significantly higher than it was at the 27th CPSU Congress (26 rayons and cities). Taking into account the recommendations of the CPSU Central Committee, the Moldavian Communist Party Central Committee Buro is introducing for your consideration a proposal on the possible election of six candidates from the central list for the republic party organization.

In order to work on their own proposals for possible delegates to the conference the party gorkoms and raykoms everywhere have taken counsel with the party aktiv. Meetings of members of the election organs in the rayon and city party organizations, and of the secretaries of the primary party organizations and leaders of public formations have been held in the rayons and cities. At those meetings there has been comprehensive discussion of the proposals and of which party organizations and labor collectives from which sectors could be afforded the right to recommend their own delegate. As a rule, those named as possibles were the collectives of leading, advanced enterprises, farms and organizations that are essentially the flagships of perestroika processes. An

absolute majority of them were primary party organizations from which no delegates had previously been selected for the CPSU congresses.

According to the information available to us the discussion was not pro forma but meaningful and keen, open and candid, with broad consideration of people's opinions. This was the way, for example, in which communists in Rybnitsa raykom exercised their right in selecting the primary party organization from which a candidate delegate may be named for the All-Union Party Conference. Here, the party raykom buro proposed that this choice be the party organization at the metallurgical plant. The motivation was quite convincing: the work of its collective largely determines the lineament of the rayon. The plant has repeatedly been a winner in socialist competition with similar enterprises in the country. But at the rayon meeting of the aktiv an alternative to this proposal was argued just as convincingly, namely, to give the right to select a candidate to the party organization at the stud and poultry sovkhoz imeni 60-letiye SSSR. The collective of the republic's oldest sugar combine was also proposed. Although a majority of opinions had favored these collectives, as the result of the voting priority was given to the poultry farmers.

And of course, the main work in selecting candidate delegates has been done in the primary party organizations, whither, to use the graphic expression of CPSU Central Committee General Secretary M.S. Gorbachev, "all the threads of perestroika lead." Open party meetings to discuss the candidate have taken place with the broad participation of nonparty people and representatives of the public organizations. More than 8,500 people were involved, and more than 600 spoke. In all, 72 candidates for 40 places were discussed. This is not counting the central list nor the six candidates from among the leaders of the republic organizations, who were discussed and recommended on behalf of the Moldavian Communist Party Central Committee Buro, since they will be among the delegates.

Communists taking part in the meetings displayed a profound interest in selecting true supporters of perestroika, those who have a real right to participate in the high party forum. Almost everywhere at the meetings and gatherings, several candidates were discussed. Thus, at an open party meeting at the Kishinevtrans Production Association the communists named four candidates: N.K. Aleynov, the association director, G.S. Georgiyev, director at the No 1 Branch, R.M. Sukhomlinov, the leader of a brigade of electricians, and N.V. Sheremet, a driver. Most voted to recommend N.V. Sheremet, of whom one of the communist speaking said simply and impressively: "These are exactly the kind of people that perestroika needs." Many similar examples could be cited.

The public in the trade unions and the veterans, and representatives of the Komsomol organizations, the women's councils and the councils of soldier-internationalists were extensively involved in the discussion of

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candidates. Having party gorkom and raykom first secretaries as part of the representation of delegates was an especially crucial question to resolve. It is no secret that the opinion that they should be included as candidates nominated on the list has often first been shaped secretly, usually on the basis of numerical indicators, and in some cases without going beyond the confines of the viewpoint of workers in the higher apparatus.

This time the proposals on the first secretaries of the party gorkoms and raykoms were drawn up in the primary party organizations and discussed in the Moldavian Communist Party Central Committee with the participation of all first secretaries of party committees, and also at meetings of the members of the leading elected organs in the city and rayon party organizations, the party and economic aktiv, and representatives of the public organizations in the cities and rayons. The interest shown during the course of these discussion is confirmed, for example, by the fact that in the Chadyr-Lunga and Beltsy raykoms, alternatives were considered along with the nomination of the first secretaries as candidates. It is pleasing to note that as a result the viewpoints of the lower aktiv and of colleagues working in the Moldavian Communist Party Central Committee Buro fully coincided in the matter of the first secretaries. In addition to the primary party organizations, the candidates nominated have also been discussed in the aktiv of deputies. The work that has been done has been extensively publicized through the mass media. Some 80 sets of materials have been published in the republic, city, rayon and large-circulation newspapers, and 65 have been carried on radio and television.

The Central Committee Buro is not in receipt of any complaints or letters about violations of the principles of democracy during the selection of candidate delegates. Even though, it must be admitted candidly, this process is not simple and is in many ways new, requiring from its organizers a high level of political culture and democracy. The costs here can be fully explained. We are all now learning to live and work in the new conditions, in conditions of constantly developing democracy.

For information I can state that the Moldavian Communist Party Central Committee did receive a letter from Ungenskiy rayon on the subject of isolated factors connected with the conduct of a meeting to discuss candidates in the primary party organizations. A careful examination at the local level showed that there were no grounds for doubting the correctness of the communists' choice.

Yesterday the Central Committee Buro considered and drew up final proposals for possible candidate delegates to the CPSU All-Union Conference. The list that we must discuss in detail on the personal level contains the names of 52 party members. The makeup of the list in the main reflects the qualitative makeup of the republic party organization. They include innovators and leading

people in the industrial sectors, the construction complex, transport, the services sphere, and agriculture and representatives of the scientific and creative intelligentsia, party and soviet workers, veterans, and leaders of public organizations.

One fourth of those nominated as delegates are women. One in five is aged under 40. The list includes representatives of the main nationalities living in the republic. Most comrades have not been selected for any party congress. All candidates named are principled, creatively thinking, enterprising, active participants in public life. They are present here today at this Central Committee plenum.

Some 23 people are part of the central and republic leading elected party organs, 21 are part of the city and rayon leading elected party organs, 6 are secretaries of shop party organizations and party group organizers, 8 are deputies of the USSR Supreme Soviet, 15 are deputies of the Moldavian Supreme Soviet, 23 are deputies in city, rayon and rural soviets of people's deputies, and 3 are heroes of socialist labor. An absolute majority of them has been awarded orders and medals of the Soviet Union, including 13 people with the Order of Lenin and 21 with the Order of the Labor Red Banner. The Moldavian Communist Party Central Committee considers that all the candidates nominated are true creators of perestroyka and people to whom we can rightly entrust its fate.

The selection that we must make today is extraordinarily crucial. It is very important that people who have been tested in specific deeds in the crucible of perestroyka and through their active position in life have affirmed its ideology take part in the work of the conference. In short, those whom we do not just fortuitously name as the work superintendents of perestroyka. They must play a most direct part in the discussion of issues on the conference agenda and carry through the mandate of their own comrade communists. And the main thing is upon their return to report the conference decisions to each communist and each worker, and its ideas and spirit, and roll up their sleeves and get down to specific work to implement those decisions directly at the local level and in their own labor collectives. These are kind of people to whom we must today entrust the mandate of trust from the republic party organization.

09642

Pugo Addresses Latvian Delegate Election Plenum
18000435a Riga SOVETSKAYA LATVIYA in Russian
1 Jun 88 pp 1-2

[LATINFORM special correspondent report: "The Main Issue: What Position Will You Defend at the Conference? From a Plenum of the Latvian Communist Party Central Committee"]

[Excerpts] At the plenum a regulation was promulgated not to restrict the number of speakers or the time that they spoke.

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Some 75 people took part in the discussion of nominations for delegates to the 19th All-Union Party Conference.

Those nominated as candidates for the 19th All-Union Party Conference were invited to the plenum.

The main issue raised at the plenum was the following: what is your personal position with regard to perestroyka and what line will you advocate at the conference?

The main idea is that perestroyka can be successfully implemented only if it is led by our party and its central committee and if it is under the leadership of the party organizations.

As already reported in the press, a Latvian Communist Party Central Committee plenum devoted to the election of delegates to the 19th All-Union Party Conference took place on 28 May in Riga. Latvian Communist Party Central Committee First Secretary B.K. Pugo spoke at the plenum. He said that only one month remains to the 19th All-Union Party Conference. The conference will be a very important event in the life of our party and our country, and in the further unfolding of perestroyka. The conference will take stock of political experience gained since the 27th CPSU Congress and will discuss tasks for the party organizations in deepening perestroyka and define ways for cardinal transformations in the sphere of the economy and in the further democratization of the life of our society. Communists and the inhabitants of our republic received with enormous attention the CPSU Central Committee Theses for the conference. This reaction was proof of the growing authority of our party and it can be firmly stated that the people trust the party and its Central Committee.

The Theses were necessary not in order to restrict the range of problems discussed but to provide a base for meaningful discussion at the conference. In the form in which they were published in the press and discussed at the CPSU Central Committee plenum, the Theses already take into account numerous proposals coming from the party organizations and from communists and workers in our country. Attention is drawn to the critical nature of this document and to the exacting approach to the issues raised. Discussion at the conference will cover primarily what it has not been possible to achieve during the course of perestroyka. We, comrades, must all discuss the Theses in the primary party organizations and labor collectives and generalize opinions, proposals and attitudes toward them on the part of the republic's communists. And I think that it is very important not to postpone things but to react immediately to factors affecting the activity of the local party organizations.

One important stage in the preparations for the upcoming conference has been the work to select its future delegates. In our republic, as throughout the country, discussion on whom to entrust with the task of speaking for us at this conference and of making the decisions was

initiated long ago. The nature of the preparatory work confirms the steady process of development of intraparty democracy. Since April communists in the primary party organizations have been participating attentively, keenly and actively in the discussions about candidates. Discussions took place in the primary party organizations and then continued in the rayon and city party committees. The discussion has been conducted in various ways. In some places candidates have been discussed at meetings of the party rayon and city committee buros with the secretaries of the primary party organizations invited to attend. In some places there have been meetings of the aktiv. Some rayon and city party committees have held plenums, and possible candidates have been discussed at their own regional forums for communists.

With the participation of the primary party organizations a total of about 400 candidates were nominated. After the rayon and city party committees had held their discussions, they presented their proposals to the party Central Committee. We were offered 116 candidates. The lists of candidates up for discussion have been published in the rayon and city newspapers. We published them in the republic press, which we had never done before. For we have had no experience of this kind.

And even to talk about this experience, comrades, is the development of democracy in fact. There were no strict instructions from the CPSU Central Committee on how to conduct this work. And so the various republic party organizations and oblast party organizations organized it in different ways. Lists of candidates were by no means published in all republics. The Latvian Communist Party Central Committee Buro considered this form advisable. From our standpoint it is democratic and it made it possible to discuss the candidate more extensively, and better. At the same time, however, today it must be candidly stated that this measure also served as grounds for criticism of our work. We in the party central committee received numerous comments about the work connected with the nomination of candidates for election as delegates. Many letters were received by the mass media. Many comments were published. You are well aware that much material was of an extremely critical nature. And what does all this indicate? It indicates that there are probably no people who are indifferent to the election of delegates. This should be a cause of gladness; it is in the spirit of perestroyka. The democratic principles themselves are being approved by people everywhere. But a number of justified comments were also made. It is probably right to say that the process of nomination and discussion has recently assumed perhaps a forced nature. What is the reason for this? It is that we had to end the discussion in May, and today is virtually the latest that the buro deems it advisable to publish the lists. Accordingly, in some places the periods given to the raykoms and gorkoms were cut short, and so less time remained for the primary party organizations. We see the insufficient work done in this matter quite well, quite patently.

During the period of discussion some candidates were withdrawn. I shall not cite examples; there are many of them. But I will cite the figures: 400 communists were put forward for discussion and the names of 116 were published in the newspapers; that is, about 300 were voted down during the discussions.

We did receive the comment that it is hardly proper to elect all the members and candidate members of the Latvian Communist Party Central Committee Buro for the 19th All-Union Party Conference. There never was any judgment in the Central Committee Buro that all the members of the buro should be elected. But at the same time it is probably not a bad thing that the names of those who had been nominated as candidates were published. Although people's attitudes toward this differed.

A number of questions, comments, proposals and opinions about individual candidates were also received. I think that it is essential to provide information first and foremost about the candidates from among the leadership. Quite a number of people asked questions or expressed opinions about whether people who have received party penalties could be elected as delegates to the 19th All-Union Party Conference. This matter concerned Yu.Ya. Rubene. You are aware that the Central Committee Buro dealt very strictly with the business connected with the house at No 76 Gorkiy Street and Yu.Ya. Rubene was punished. The buro discussed his candidacy the day before the plenum. Yu.Ya. Rubene raised the following question: in the light of all this would the communists in the republic understand his nomination as a candidate? After an exchange of opinions, giving due consideration to the fact that Yuri Yanovich has in general been working well for many years, and works with great energy and determination, the members of the buro decided that it was possible to let his candidacy stand. We have also discussed this matter with the first secretaries of the party raykoms and gorkoms and have received their approval.

The list of candidates that has been presented for discussion includes representatives from 23 rayons and cities. I would remind you that we have a total of 40 rayon and city party organizations. That is, one wish that may have been expressed today—that a delegate be elected from each rayon and each city—we have unfortunately not been able to satisfy.

Taking into account the recommendations of the CPSU Central Committee, the Latvian Communist Party Central Committee Buro is also offering for your consideration a proposal on the possibility of electing candidates from the republic party organization on the central list.

The people who will represent our party organization at the 19th Party Conference should, to put it figuratively, be the work superintendents of perestroyka. They should work actively at the conference itself. In our opinion, each comrade elected should have a clear-cut position on

and program for perestroyka and his own understanding of perestroyka. He must be the kind of person who after his return from the conference will become an active fighter to implement the line of the 19th Conference, and he should be able to speak out and actively propagandize the party line. In short, the demands made of the comrades who will represent our organization are very, very high.

I think that we need not hurry here. There is no need to be modest or feel shy about asking questions. Taking into account that almost all the comrades whose candidacy the Central Committee has put forward for discussion are present here today at our plenum, anyone can be asked questions concerning his views on and perceptions of perestroyka and his involvement in the work. In short, let us work so that none of us is left with any doubts about the correctness of the selection that is made.

In a second vote all 53 of those listed on the bulletin for a secret vote were elected as delegates to the 19th All-Union Party Conference. But they did not get by any means the same number of votes.

In conclusion B.K. Pugo said the following:

The plenum has taken place in a businesslike manner, as we had wished. The discussion has been democratic and perhaps unusual for some. This really is the case. There has been heated discussion and a free vote. For us this has been a fine school—a school of democracy. We must learn to work under real conditions of democracy. On behalf of our plenum I would like to congratulate all delegates to the 19th All-Union Party Conference. Trust has been placed in every one. We wish you successful work at the conference!

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Vayno Addresses Estonian Conference Plenum Before Ouster

*18000436 Tallinn SOVETSKAYA ESTONIYA
in Russian 1 Jun 88 pp 1-2*

[Speech by K. G. Vayno, first secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Estonia: "Information by K. G. Vayno, first secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Estonia, at the 9th Plenum of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Estonia"]

[Text] Comrades!

Less than 1 month remains before the opening of the 19th all-Union party conference, with which big hopes of party members and the entire nation are connected. One of the most intense, politically active stages in the life of our party and the country as a whole is beginning. Time saturated to the limit with major events seems to accelerate its race. The Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee, which examined the question of the draft theses

for the forthcoming conference, was held a week ago. These theses approved by the Plenum of the Central Committee have been just published in the central and republic press for a wide discussion in party organizations and among workers.

As the conference approaches, debates at party meetings and plenums, in public organizations, in scientific circles, on newspaper pages, and on television and radio increase in our country. People raise the most urgent questions connected with the fate of restructuring. They are concerned about how to enhance the prestige and role of the party in the life of society, how to combine its policy with morality forever, and how to solve more efficiently economic and social problems inherited from the period of stagnation and from the time of the personality cult. It seems that comrades, who participated in the debates, found confirmation for many of their ideas, perhaps even their bolder development, in the published CPSU CC Theses. Such are the dialectics of restructuring, of the destruction of obsolete dogmas and stereotypes, and of the mastering of revolutionary thinking and actions with initiative. Many of our proposals, which were sent to the CPSU Central Committee in the course of the preparation for the conference, were also taken into account.

Now we must organize a wide discussion and explanation of the theses at open meetings of party members in primary and shop party organizations, party groups, labor collectives, public organizations, the press, and on television. Members of the Plenum of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Estonia, gorkom and raykom members, and our entire party aktiv should take part in this work.

Today we will have to elect delegates to the 19th all-Union party conference from our republic organization. This is the chief thing, for the sake of which we have gathered with you. However, before this we would like to dwell on some factors.

We are going to the conference and, consequently, should present a report. From the point of view of criticism and self-criticism we should interpret the practical material and experience accumulated in the republic during restructuring and on this basis develop proposals, with which the republic party organization will come to the all-Union conference.

What is the main positive result of past years? It lies primarily in the fact that restructuring is proceeding in the republic. Not as rapidly and noticeably as one would wish, but it is proceeding. We have our successes and our prospects, although there are also difficulties and the burden of accumulated problems, which during former stagnant years were not solved throughout the country, is too big.

What can we enter on the credit side of restructuring if we use strong language? First of all, the growth of social and national self-consciousness, revival of public life in the republic, people's increased political activity, and their striving to participate in the solution of urgent problems and in the development of concepts pertaining to the renewal of our entire life. Pages of newspapers and journals and radio and television broadcasts breathe with this today. This is also felt in the fervent and biased discussion of urgent problems concerning the republic's life among the creative intelligentsia and in labor collectives. Were there ever before such stormy and sharp discussions lasting many hours of problems concerning economics, history, and ecology, gathering hundreds and thousands of people? This is also felt in the activation of work by various public organizations and amateur associations, societies, and groups and in the appearance of citizens' initiatives. All this attests to the development of political democracy. Of course, this process is not easy or simple. Conservative and skeptical frames of mind, attempts at solving accumulated problems with a daring cavalry attack, concern about the fates of restructuring and its possible social consequences, and anxiety for the nation's future are also reflected here. Hence the boiling of passions, turmoil in minds, and excesses in the expression of views.

The new processes, which have unfolded in the country and in the republic, evoke an ambiguous reaction in different people and in different population strata and groups. It seems that the tension, which has arisen in the republic's public life recently, is also connected to a considerable degree with the fact that the intelligentsia, primarily the creative intelligentsia, keenly feeling the need for the most rapid solution of urgent problems, at the same time, does not see a sufficient, in its opinion, activity among other strata of the population, especially those that work directly in the national economy. Hence the strong emotional pressure.

All this is understandable. We did not think that restructuring will proceed easily and without conflicts, without a clash of interests, misunderstanding, and emotional outbursts. The chief thing is to deal with arising situations sensibly and to find optimal methods of solving problems and coordinating interests.

Time and patience will be needed in order to learn to live under conditions of democracy. However, it is important that this process is going on. People are getting out of the state of social apathy, are straightening out morally, and are feeling their civic and national dignity. This is one of the main results of restructuring. Moreover, today as never before we need an atmosphere of glasnost and a free discussion of painful problems. The richer the palette of our debates, searches, and initiatives and the more democratic the discussion of problems, the bigger the guarantees against mistakes, hasty conclusions, and rash decisions.

Processes of democratization are also developing, although slowly, in the production sphere. The election of economic managers has expanded widely. There are already considerable examples of active work on the part of councils of labor collectives and development of elements of self-administration at the level of enterprises, associations, and organizations.

Shifts in the economy are also observed. What is the chief thing here? Intensification of cost-accounting relations in industry and agriculture and mastering of the new economic mechanism by entire sectors. Increased attention to the social sphere, especially to housing construction. Development of the cooperative movement. A qualitative restructuring of the management of the republic's national economy. That is, work is being done. However, there are considerable difficulties. As yet a great deal has not been adjusted, for example, in relations between enterprises and ministries, which still often operate with methods of administrative coercion. The rates of progress do not suit us. As yet there is no proper persistence and boldness in mastering new approaches in the economy and new technologies. This was discussed thoroughly and critically at a meeting of the aktiv 2 days ago in the presence of N. N. Slyunkov, member of the Politburo of the CPSU Central Committee, secretary of the CPSU Central Committee.

Here, in fact, very briefly and sketchily, are the first steps of restructuring in the republic.

We are often criticized for the fact that restructuring, as some comrades think, is proceeding here at slow rates and that we are late in adopting cardinal decisions. In general, this is correct. Of course, all of us would like quick and noticeable results. However, it should be especially stressed: We are now making truly large-scale and fundamentally new decisions, which should determine the republic's economic, political, and social life for a long time to come. This determines the measure of our present responsibility. We must not fuss and yield to emotional fits. One of our famous economists well said that some people still often view the real economy as a sum of our thoughts about it, wishes, and grievances, not as an organic combination of economic laws, expediencies, and necessities, which should be followed and not be disregarded. Each such decision requires a thorough preparation and a thoughtful and balanced approach with due regard for its possible consequences and effect on people's fate.

For example, let us take such an important problem as the republic's transition to full cost accounting, which has become one of the central matters for us. We have determined our policy here and the attitude toward this matter. This was discussed at two former plenums of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Estonia. It can be said that the idea has been crystallized and extreme points of view and various kinds of stratifications have ceased to exist. Very intense work, in which a large group of scientists and specialists is engaged, is now

going on. In the next few months we expect to receive the preliminary version of the concept of republic cost accounting. These conclusions will be promulgated and then their wide and constructive discussion will begin.

I would like to say that I visited Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev in Moscow on 25 May and informed him of our work on restructuring and of the development of cost-accounting relations, including at the republic level. He asked me to convey to all of you that the CPSU Central Committee highly values the contribution of the republic's workers to the country's national economic complex. Speaking of cost accounting, he noted that it represents a long-term policy of the party and should be developed persistently in the brigade, enterprise, city, rayon, and, finally, at the level of the republic as a whole. The economy should not stand still.

Of course, the republic's transfer to cost accounting and introduction of self-management of the republic's economic complex will largely depend on measures taken at the all-Union level for improving regional aspects of the economic mechanism. This will also depend on the degree of preparedness, our proposals, and our concept. Therefore, it seems that the transition must be made in stages.

Decentralization and expansion of the republic's rights and responsibility for an overall and social development and for the implementation of cultural policy in localities—these are problems that should be solved in the first place. In our opinion, the package of proposals, with which the republic party organization should come to the all-Union conference, should be connected precisely with this.

Extensive and very intense work is now going on in different directions and on different problems. A number of commissions and workers' groups have been established. They include members of the Central Committee, scientists, specialists, and representatives of party and Soviet organs.

Development of a new general scheme for the management of the republic's national economy is one of such directions. We discussed the basic principles of this scheme at previous plenums of the Central Committee. Our scheme was approved by the Politburo of the CPSU Central Committee.

There is a great deal of talk about the new scheme. Various points of view and opinions are expressed. However, I would like to recall that it is precisely a scheme. Its detailed study and determination of the organizational structure of newly established management organs take place in especially established commissions with a wide enlistment of scientists, specialists, deputies, and representatives of ministries and enterprises.

Proposals put forward by the public, creative unions, and party and Soviet bodies are being examined. I would like to dwell on some of them.

It is well known how sharply problems of ensuring legality, intensifying control over the activity of law protecting organs, and expanding glasnost in their work are raised now. A great number of problems have accumulated here. They must be solved. A number of specific proposals connected, as noted in the theses, with strengthening the socialist legal state deserve attention; for example, the problem of establishing a Constitutional Court of the USSR and Union republics, of the need for a legal reform, and of glasnost in criminal and judicial statistics. Appropriate proposals are being developed by a group of our authoritative jurists.

At the same time, we can and should do a great deal in our republic. Problems of establishing in our Supreme Soviet commissions for ensuring socialist legality and internal security and of expanding the functions of similar commissions in city and rayon executive committees are already being studied.

At our past plenum we talked about the need to adopt a fundamental, legally and morally sound position in the evaluation of such painful events for our nation as the exiles of 1941 and 1949. Today I would like to talk about how these matters are being examined. The republic's procuracy and other law protecting organs submitted to the ESSR Council of Ministers proposals to revoke previous decisions by republic organs on these matters as contradicting the general principles of socialist justice. The problem of declaring the exiles of 1941 and 1949 illegal is also set for appropriate competent Union bodies. Thus, a legal evaluation with all the ensuing legal consequences will be given to these phenomena.

There are a number of problems connected with national relations, which we consider necessary to examine and solve in the very near future. The problem of the republic's state language and some other matters are already being studied by the commission of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet. Of course, all these proposals and developments will have to be discussed widely.

Today I would like once again to touch upon the problem of migration. As before, it is being widely and sharply discussed in mass information media, in labor collectives, and at the domestic level. I have already had occasion to say and today I want to repeat that migration is engendered by former times and extensive development. Restructuring has given us the opportunity to approach these problems and to interfere in these processes. We had already put this problem on the agenda last year. Appropriate decisions on limiting migratory processes were adopted. They are already in effect. In Tallinn following the appeals of 22 enterprises only eight people have been registered in 4 months of this year.

That is, the position on these matters has been determined. This work must be continued and administrative measures must be reinforced to an ever greater extent with economic ones, which, in principle, should be more effective.

I would like to say something else in connection with this. Not quite correct and rash statements wounding people's national feelings appear from time to time in mass information media, in some speeches, and in conversations. We do not share these thoughts and opinions. Complicated problems, especially in such a sensitive and delicate sphere as national relations, cannot and should not be solved through confrontation and mutual reproaches and insults. Those that manifest self-control, calm, and maturity in these matters act correctly. Far-reaching conclusions should not be drawn and, moreover, generalizations should not be made on the basis of some immature and hasty statements. I would like to repeat once again on behalf of the Bureau of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Estonia that in our republic there can be no question of any discrimination against any population groups and of any infringement of their interests. This contradicts our socialist principles.

I would like to dwell separately on problems concerning the development of public movements and citizens' initiatives in the republic. The Bureau of the Central Committee expressed its position on these matters. We have a positive attitude toward all the movements arising in support of the party policy of restructuring, including the idea of the people's front. We would like to see to it that there are more initiatives and that all of them work for our common cause—restructuring. It needs wide and energetic support from below and unification of all public forces interested in profound revolutionary transformations and ready to act in practice so that the restructuring process becomes irreversible. The idea of the people's front, which has now met with a big response in the republic, could also serve the establishment of such an association.

This is a new endeavor. In the republic and in the country there is no experience in the development and formation of democratic movements with initiative. That is why there is a need for debates and discussions, in the course of which positions, forms of work, methods, and fulcrums in practical activity connected with restructuring would be determined. As during the laying of foundations of a house, in order that it may stand safely and firmly, it is important to place the first stone correctly, so during the birth and formation of a new movement it is important to determine initial positions. For now, however, different points of view and different statements on the goals and tasks of the people's front exist. Some see in it a wide popular movement with a positive program and active participation in practical work connected with restructuring. We share such a point of view. However, there are also those that want to

assign to the people's front the role of a kind of opposition, which will only criticize and expose "all and everything." It seems that Yaak Allik, director of the Ugala Theater, is right. In an article published in the newspaper EDAZI he says that in the program that has now been proclaimed by the organizing group the people's front undertakes only the functions of a controller and critic, at the same time, declaring that it does not want to have anything in common with practical work and responsibility. As he notes correctly, such a position is both unethical and unproductive. To be sure, he is also right when he casts doubt on the thesis of nonadmission of party, Komsomol, and trade union workers into the movement. In fact, is it possible to develop a mass people's democratic movement in an undemocratic way, creating artificial restrictions and obstacles from the very beginning?

By no means every person is now an active participant in restructuring and a gap between the opinions concerning restructuring and its real results in localities still exists. That is precisely why the Bureau of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Estonia considers it positive and useful when organizing groups arise in labor collectives and unite those that actively want to change for the better the state of affairs in their collective, be it an industrial enterprise, a kolkhoz, a sovkhoz, or an institution. Naturally, party members and party organizations should not remain aloof from this and should actively participate in all these processes, as in everything that works for restructuring.

Moreover, as in any new endeavor shady people—the scum—also appear, trying to set up and head organizing groups here and there in localities. Party organizations should work more actively here and not give initiative to random people.

Tact is also important so that the goals of the movement are equally close to all population groups. It will be incorrect if the new movement becomes uniform in the national criterion and is transformed from a people's front into a national one. We have one republic and the success of restructuring, in whose support this movement arises, can be ensured only by common efforts.

What would I like to add to this? We now talk a great deal about pluralism. However, not everyone understands what this is and what stands behind this. Pluralism in its bourgeois sense leads to a diffusion of power in society. Socialist pluralism has nothing in common with the bourgeois concept of "free game" of political forces. It is a question of the representation of different views in elected organs of power, of differences in the positions of individual political institutions, for example, the state and trade unions, of putting forward alternative draft decisions, and so forth. It is important that all this takes place in the fight for socialism. This should be kept in mind.

A number of proposals, with which the Central Committee Bureau considers it possible to come to the all-Union party conference on behalf of the republic party organization, concerns the development of democracy. These are very important problems, without the solution of which we will not be able to advance. An important place is also assigned to them in the CPSU CC Theses.

First of all, this is a range of problems connected with the development of state democracy. The system of elections occupies a paramount place among them. Views stating that it is no longer possible to approach the organization of elections and the formation of the composition of deputies in the old way are expressed in localities.

What are the proposals here? When putting forward candidate deputies, to eliminate the statistical approach completely. To enable public organizations to participate in the preelection campaign widely. Of course, when putting forward candidates, large labor collectives should remain the main link. Elections should be carried out on a competitive basis from several candidacies.

It seems that the practice of putting forward figures on a Union scale as candidate deputies should be changed. It would be correct if during elections to the country's Supreme Soviet they would be put forward not in individual okrugs, but would be submitted for a general discussion and voting. After all, it is logical that the entire nation, not only one okrug, should give an evaluation to first leaders during elections.

A number of proposals are connected with the development of democracy in the party. Primary party organizations, gorkoms, and raykoms spoke mostly about these matters.

All of us feel the acute need for a new interpretation of the party's role at the present stage and of the new functions and methods of work by party committees.

The proposals received from party organizations, party committees, and labor collectives both for the development of intraparty democracy and other matters represent the richest material.

It seems that we should support the view of many party members that the very procedure of admission to and departure from the party should be democratized. Obviously, it is necessary to give the right to a free departure from the party, as party members in Kharyuskiy Rayon propose, on the basis of the state of health, in connection with the impossibility of actively working in a party organization. The title "Honorary Party Member" could be established for such party members, who have worked in a fitting manner in the party for many years. Apparently, there is no need to keep in the party those that themselves want to leave its ranks. It seems that this would only rally the party, strengthen it, and clear its ranks from random people, so-called fellow-travelers and careerists, those that do not agree with its policy.

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I have already had occasion to express at plenums of the CPSU Central Committee some proposals on changing and reinterpreting the structure of the party apparatus, having in mind the intensification of organizational and ideological work of party committees. Of course, a reduction in the apparatus, which will occur in this case, is made not simply for the sake of decreasing the number of workers. We expect that in this way it is possible to strengthen low-level party links. Proposals that party apparatus workers should be registered in the low-level party organizations supervised by them also deserve attention. Then they would be people, who do not simply drop in on collectives as guests, but live with their concerns and anxieties and know well their needs, successes, and failures.

In any case, I believe that we should support the proposal by the Raplaskiy Rayon party organization and other party members on intensifying the independence and responsibility of gorkoms and raykoms and on granting them the right to determine for themselves the structure and composition of the apparatus in accordance with the specific nature of their city or rayon and the number of primary party organizations. The obsolete structure and functions of party committees formed many years ago directly presuppose a replacement of Soviet and economic bodies and open the way to bureaucratization and isolation from rank-and-file party members.

I would like to note that some of our proposals concerning the development of intraparty democracy were reflected in the theses. For example, this concern the limitation of the periods of service in elected leadership posts in the party and a systematic renewal of the composition of leaders at all levels—from the party committee of an enterprise to an obkom and the Central Committee. The Tartu City party organization and other party members put forward such a proposal. The practice of intraparty life during the last decades indicates that a long occupation of elected posts by the same people often leads to serious negative consequences and to stagnation in the movement of personnel. At the same time, it is necessary to develop the mechanism of the party worker's social defense and to provide for him favorable opportunities to return to work in his basic occupation after completing the period of service in elected posts. It seems that these provisions should be backed at the party conference.

Among the many proposals, which we have received from party organizations in the course of the preparation for the conference, there are also those that we can and should use in our work without waiting for the conference. The idea of forming under the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Estonia groups of experts, consisting of experienced party workers and scientists, in various problems connected with the political guidance of processes of the republic's public life deserves attention. There are many proposals on enhancing the role of the elected party aktiv, forming the composition of the

Central Committee, gorkoms, and raykoms, and increasing the effectiveness and success rate of the work of plenums. We consider it necessary to realize many things and to put them into the practice of our work.

Very many party members say that it is necessary to create favorable conditions for expanding debate in party work, especially when decisions of a long-term nature are worked out. This is very valid. Without a wide discussion, criticism, and debates there is no progress. Of course, this in no way relieves party members of the responsibility for fulfilling decisions when they are already adopted.

There are also many other proposals. Now, when the CPSU CC Theses have been published and when their discussion begins in party organizations, new thoughts will also appear and many proposals will receive a new development.

Before this plenum members of the Central Committee Buro visited many collectives and met with many party members. I personally met more than once with the party aktiv in localities, was in labor collectives, and had detailed talks with the majority of first gorkom and raykom secretaries on problems of work under the new conditions and preparation for the party conference. In the course of all these meetings and talks we felt tremendous interest in the forthcoming party conference. Among the raised problems two, which are now of special concern to everyone, can be singled out: Who specifically will represent the Estonian Republic party organization at the party conference and with what will our delegation go to Moscow?

It seems that the delegates elected today will gather later in order to determine collectively, on the basis of the theses, today's discussion, and proposals by party members, the issues that could be voiced at the conference on behalf of the republic party organization.

We have gathered with you in order to elect delegates to the conference. However, even today we could exchange thoughts in connection with certain provisions of the theses, to express our attitude toward them, and to introduce proposals. After all, a discussion of the theses is collective creative work and research. How we will continue to live and work largely depends on this.

11439

Estonian CP CC Takes Measures To Prepare Conference Delegates *18000492a Tallinn SOVETSKAYA ESTONIYA in Russian 3 Jun 88 p 1*

[Article by E. Cherevashko, head of the department for the organization of party work of the Estonian CP Central Committee: "Creatively Carry Out Preparations for the 19th All-Union Party Conference"]

[Text] As has already been reported, the Ninth Plenum of the Estonian CP Central Committee completed its

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work a few days ago in Tallinn. During the plenum a delegation was formed and elected that will represent the Estonian CP at the 19th All-Union Party Conference.

Now that the work of forming the delegation has been completed, now that 32 delegates have been elected out of the more than 600 candidates nominated (and that is not the final figure), the full volume of the organizational and political effort involved in the discussion and the nomination of candidates on the basis of broad democracy and glasnost has become more distinctly visible. Emphasizing the importance and significance of the effort that has been made, we would like to express sincere gratitude and recognition to all those who took an active part in preparing and holding the elections of delegates and in this way made a specific contribution to forming the delegation.

At the same time, it should be said that now that the delegates to the conference have been elected, we can consider the job done. The elections are only a vote of confidence. Now we need to see that every delegate, whoever he may be—a leader, a specialist, an ordinary worker—becomes actively involved in preparation for the upcoming conference. There is a large and extremely necessary job to be done that will take a lot of work. In our view, it should begin with a thorough elaboration of the Theses of the CPSU Central Committee, with a study and assessment of the situation that has come about in the republic, the city, the rayon, and the work collective which the delegate represents. It is from those positions that we need to grasp and conceptualize in a new way the need for restructuring of the party, society, and state, to outline and accomplish in practice at the local level the restructuring of the work of the relevant party gorkom or raykom, the primary party organization, the soviet of people's deputies, its executive and management authorities, standing commissions, delineation of functions among party, soviet, and economic authorities, the solution of a number of other very important problems reflected in the Theses of the CPSU Central Committee for the upcoming conference.

In preparing for the 19th All-Union Party Conference the delegates may find it necessary to consult on certain matters and to receive relevant material. The delegates may obtain consultations in the Estonian CP Central Committee. A permanent consulting station will be opened for this purpose in the Center for Political Education.

Delegates can also request consultation from ministries, state committees, departments, and any state agencies, bodies in the economy, and public organizations. It is their duty to furnish the delegates all necessary material, to give them competent clarifications on all matters that lie within the jurisdiction of those bodies.

The purpose of all this assistance is so that the delegates can fruitfully take part in the proceedings of the conference and to prepare themselves for the public speeches

they will be making, their meetings with work collectives and the general public where they live, as well as in the press and over television and radio.

Party committees should in their propaganda effort make use of all our comrades who were nominated by primary party organizations and work collectives. These candidates are our fighting reserve of vigorous soldiers for restructuring. They possess the necessary prestige within their collectives, and they enjoy their support. No lecturer brought in from outside can achieve the same result as can be achieved by an aktivist in his own work collective who knows in detail its pluses and minuses, its difficulties and shortcomings. And we need to give that full appreciation in the entire effort we make to clarify the decisions which will be adopted by the 19th All-Union Party Conference.

At the same time, we need to show particular concern so that every speaker is solidly prepared for the open dialogue, learns to express his thoughts and arguments fluently, and can skillfully defend the positions he has taken. The explanatory work must include contacts with support groups of the Popular Front to support restructuring, formations of "greens," and other bodies of spontaneous social movements.

There is also a need to do serious work with the proposals that have come in from the field for the 19th All-Union Party Conference and also in connection with publication and clarification of the Theses of the CPSU Central Committee. All the proposals coming in must be promptly and thoroughly studied, analyzed, and summarized for the delegation being sent to the conference. To that end the Secretariat of the Estonian CP Central Committee has decided to create four groups for various lines of democratization of party life and the life of society and also for other aspects of restructuring.

Provision has also been made to form a summary group, whose main task is to prepare a specific document reflecting the basic essence of the proposals which the republic party organization will submit to the 19th All-Union Party Conference. There will be an announcement in the press about the results of this group's effort.

The plan is to draw upon scientists, public figures, party and soviet officials, and personnel in the economy for membership in the groups.

It is desirable for authors to send their letters with proposals to the Estonian CP Central Committee marked "For the 19th All-Union Party Conference." This will considerably speed up their consideration, and it will contribute to the efficient organization of the work of the groups analyzing and summarizing the proposals.

Less than a month is left before the opening of the 19th All-Union Party Conference. Over that period we should completely finish the entire job related to clarifying the

Theses of the CPSU Central Committee so that when the delegation returns from Moscow practical realization of the decisions adopted at the conference can be undertaken without delay.

07045

Estonian Popular Front Groups Demand New Delegate Elections

18000492b Tallinn SOVETSKAYA ESTONIYA in Russian 11 Jun 88 p 3

[Document received the previous day by the editors from the Sovkhoz imeni A. Sommerling and published without abridgment or commentary: "Guided by the Conscience of an Estonian and Party Member...."]

[Text] Appeal to Delegates to the 19th All-Union Party Conference

Election of delegates to the All-Union Party Conference by the plenum of the Estonian CP on 30 May, during which there was no discussion of the candidates nominated by city and rayon committees, has dealt a grave blow to the authority of the Communist Party in the eyes of inhabitants of Estonia. After what was in essence antidemocratic consent to the list of delegates selected by the Buro of the Estonian CP Central Committee for the party conference, which is supposed to discuss the democratic principles of our society and party, it is difficult to take seriously all the talk and promises about expansion of democracy and protection of restructuring.

If the prestige and authority of the party in the eyes of the people is dearer to you than personal ambition, we PROPOSE to you, guided by the conscience of a party member, that you withdraw from the delegation and demand that a new plenum of the CPSU Central Committee be convened where election of the delegates would be conducted by secret ballot among all the candidates nominated by the city and rayon committees.

This appeal has been approved by an assembly of authorized representatives of 52 support groups of the Popular Front in Vilyandiskiy Rayon, which have more than 1,000 members, 1 June 1988.

In the name of the assembly the appeal is being sent to you by the chairman of the temporary coordinating center of the Popular Front of Vilyandiskiy Rayon,

K. Yeits

Esteemed K. Yeits!

In answer to the appeal which you forwarded and which was approved by an assembly of the authorized support groups of the Popular Front of Vilyandiskiy Rayon, allow me to report that guided by the conscience of an

Estonian and Communist, I do not intend to voluntarily withdraw from membership of the delegation of the Estonian CP to the 19th Party Conference.

The party organization of a work collective nominated me to be a candidate for the delegation, my nomination was supported by the Kharyuskiy Rayon Party Committee. I am one of the seven candidates officially nominated from our rayon. Were I to withdraw from the delegation, I would deprive myself of the opportunity to fight for the rights and convictions of Estonians, their colleagues, and all ordinary rural toilers.

As for personal ambition (in Estonian the word is equivalent to ambition), or personal motives, as you refer to in your letter, I have never set such goals in my civic activity and I have never made use of any means of attaining them. I respect the socially useful activity of the Popular Front in support of glasnost and restructuring. But the movement loses its prestige if it tramples on ethics and moral standards, if it makes use of accusations of this kind.

Respectfully,

E. Alvin, Tractor driver on the Sovkhoz imeni A. Sommerling, chairman of the council of the farm's work collective

07045

Yaroslavl Plenum Withdraws Conference Delegate

18000473 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 18 Jun 88 p 2

[Own correspondent M. Ovcharov report: "Removed From the List of Delegates: How Yaroslavl CPSU Obkom Plenum Adopted an Unusual Decision"]

[Text] Yaroslavl—A CPSU obkom plenum was held in Yaroslavl 16 June with the agenda: "On letters and appeals from party organizations and working people of the oblast to the CPSU obkom and the mass media in connection with the election of F.I. Loshchenkov as delegate to the 19th all-union party conference." The plenum, which lasted just over 5 hours, was unusual. There were no standing orders. There was no list of speakers prepared beforehand, and anyone could mount the platform or go up to the roving microphone and express his viewpoint. And opinions, incidentally, were sometimes diametrically opposed.

Here is a brief account of the plenum:

I. Tolstoukhov, first secretary of the CPSU obkom: "After the election on 21 May at the previous obkom plenum of Comrade F. Loshchenkov, former obkom first secretary and now chairman of the USSR State Committee for Material Reserves, as a party conference delegate,

the obkom and gorkom, newspapers, radio, and television began to receive letters, complaints, and resolutions of party meetings expressing disagreement with the election of this candidate and a demand that the obkom's decision be reviewed."

Question from the auditorium: "What is Comrade Loshchenkov personally accused of?"

I. Tolstoukhov: "Personally, nothing. But at the same time virtually all the resolutions from meetings, letters, and appeals complain that while F. Loshchenkov was obkom first secretary serious shortcomings occurred in agriculture and the development of the social sphere. There were many errors in cadre policy. The command-and-administer style of leadership flourished. Therefore people associated Comrade Loshchenkov's name directly with the years of stagnation. We must reckon with the opinions of the majority of the oblast's party organizations and working people. After all, it is a question of the prestige of the party obkom and the entire oblast party organization."

F. Loshchenkov: "I did not seek or solicit election as a delegate. But I accepted it with gratitude. Can I have changed and become an object of loathing? What happened was something different: A mass, well organized, well coordinated campaign to indoctrinate public opinion against my candidacy began. Press articles, the holding of a rally, the collection of signatures, the spreading of all kinds of rumors—none of that was accidental. The organized persecution of me as a man, as a worker, began. Unsubstantiated accusations, not backed up by arguments, began to appear, accusing me of all the mortal sins—such as that I ruined agriculture, led the oblast to the brink, and so on and so forth. Yet objective statistics exist. And the most objective indicators is the award of orders of the Soviet Union to Yaroslavl and Andropov cities and 50 labor collectives. I categorically deny the charges. I worked honestly and conscientiously, sparing no effort or energy. I am convinced that justice will triumph."

A. Ignatchenko, first secretary of Yaroslavl's Kirovskiy CPSU Raykom: "At the last plenum, on 21 May, I voted for F. Loshchenkov. But that was my personal viewpoint. However, subsequent events and the course of party meetings showed that neither the obkom, nor the gorkom, nor our raykom knew the real situation. Why not? There is not enough glasnost, we are bad at consulting with people. Today this error must be rectified, taking into account the opinion of the people, who do not agree with Comrade Loshchenkov's election as a delegate."

N. Zhukova, secretary of the party committee on "Malinovets" Sovkhoz, Rybinskiy Rayon: "An honored man has been held up to shame before the whole country. In my view the librarian Malygina, who wrote a letter to PRAVDA about Fedor Ivanovich, is an enemy of restructuring."

A. Razzhivin, chief of the USSR KGB Administration for Yaroslavl Oblast: "On the threshold of the party conference, the broadest masses, to whom restructuring is precious, express their active civic stance. The people are not indifferent to the question of who will be at the conference. For that reason, a protest sprang up against the election of F. Loshchenkov as delegate. And here the broad masses displayed high political awareness and warm support for restructuring. Restructuring is under way, but you, Fedor Ivanovich, are still the same. People have denied you their trust. I voted against you at the last plenum and I will vote against you today."

V. Chayenkov, chairman of the oblast council of veterans: "Today in his speech Fedor Ivanovich showed that he still adheres to a position of stagnation. Comrade Loshchenkov says that persecution of him has supposedly been organized. I declare: That is not so. People are not talking about Fedor Ivanovich as an individual. But the veterans say bitterly that he left behind him a neglected social program. For instance, 2,000 war invalids and families of those killed in the war are waiting for apartments in the oblast.... Unless the party obkom draws conclusions from all this today, it will be left behind in restructuring. I propose that Comrade Loshchenkov be deprived of his mandate as a conference delegate."

A. Bystron, chairman of the CPSU obkom Party Control Commission: "I consider it an error that Comrade Loshchenkov's candidacy was discussed only at the obkom plenum, bypassing the party organizations of enterprises and organizations. Yet everyone is equal before the party. These errors must be rectified. The people at the conference should be Communists who are free from the burden of the past."

G. Mironov, rector of Yaroslavl University: "I will vote against, I can do nothing else."

A. Malushko, secretary of Yaroslavl Shipbuilding Plant party committee: "The obkom must acknowledge its error."

L. Karnakov, first secretary of Yaroslavl CPSU Gorkom: "If the former decision remains in force we will lose the confidence of Communists and everyone."

B. Smirnov, prorector of the Yaroslavl branch of the Timiryazev Agriculture Academy: "I think differently: Fedor Ivanovich Loshchenkov is a victim of restructuring and of our democracy that we are introducing. (Animation in the auditorium.) Some people may laugh at that, but he is worthy of being a delegate."

Yu. Shevelin, first secretary of Andropov CPSU Gorkom: "There have been no rallies in our city, but the reaction to Comrade Loshchenkov's election as a conference delegate is the same. It crystallizes the entire stagnation period."

Yu. Parnov, member of the CPSU obkom: "Need we publicly express a lack of confidence in Comrade Loshchenkov? Could he now stand up himself and speak in this spirit: I have worked hard, I value the trust, but I withdraw my candidacy?"

I. Tolstoukhov: "Today the bureau members proposed to Fedor Ivanovich that he withdraw his candidacy, but he refused."

Hubbub in the auditorium. Voices: "But perhaps he will do it now?"

F. Loshchenkov: "I cannot agree to your proposal."

By a private (secret) ballot, F.I. Loshchenkov's candidacy was withdrawn from the list of delegates to the 19th party conference (87 obkom members voted for this, 13 against). The plenum elected Yu.V. Novikov, rector of the medical institute, delegate to the party conference.

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Estonian 'Popular Front' Meets with Conference Delegates

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in Russian 21 Jun 88 pp 1-2*

[Report by ETA correspondents P. Raydla and L. Sher: "The Will of the People Is the Will of the Party"]

[Text] A vivid confirmation of the above statement was the meeting organized by the Popular Front initiative group with a group of Estonian Communist Party delegates to the 19th All-Union Party Conference. As we already reported, the meeting was held on the evening of 17 June at the Pevcheskiy Field in Tallin.

Interest in the meeting was tremendous. Long before it began a stream of people and cars began to make their way to Pevcheskiy Field. People marched alone or in columns, carrying slogans and streamers. The area under the roof of the huge stage was packed yet people kept coming and coming. The place in front of the stage was filled to overflowing with benches. Columns arriving from different cities and rayons in the republic filled in the side passages. The people sat on the grassy slope behind the benches. It would be difficult to estimate the size of the crowd, for estimates vary (from 70,000 to 220,000). It can be said, however, that there were between 100,000 and 150,000 people gathered in the field. Nonetheless, model order prevailed among this huge crowd of people. The appearance of each new column was greeted with a storm of applause. This was followed by an even more powerful applause when the delegates to the 19th All-Union Party Conference and the members of the initiative center of the Popular Front appeared on the rostrum.

Frankly speaking, at first it seemed as though the mood of the throng of people who had gathered here was guarded and internally tuned to confrontation. This was probably caused by the discontent with the results of the elections of delegates at the Ninth Estonian Communist Party Central Committee Plenum and, above all, the fact that the drastic rejection of the policy which had marked the life of the entire society and the state for over one-quarter of a century could not fail to affect Estonia as well. This tension could erupt into a storm if the delegates to the conference could not prove that today the party of Estonian communists neither had nor could have interests other than those of the entire population of the republic, of its people.

In anticipation of events, let us immediately say that this meeting turned into a major and very important political victory. It was a victory in which there were no vanquished, a victory for both sides and for the common cause. It is only regrettable that it was not attended by all the delegates of the republic party organization but only by some of them, by no more than five members: I. Toome, Estonian Communist Party Central Committee secretary; E.-A. Sillari, first secretary of the Tallin City Party Committee; M. Rossmann, teacher in Rakvere, Yu. Aare, television journalist, and T. Vyakhi, director of automotive base No 9 in Valga.

Here is another minor detail: Whenever the speaker on the rostrum spoke in Estonian, a simultaneous translation into Russian came out of the loudspeakers which were the closest to the Pirit section of the field. Therefore, the republic's population insufficiently fluent in Estonian and guests which, judging by all available information, were quite numerous on the field, had the opportunity actively to participate in the event.

The meeting was opened by the noted television journalists Kh. Sheyn and R. Yarlik, on behalf of the provisional initiative center of the Popular Front.

In his address to the delegates, Kh. Sheyn said:

"You have the honor to be members of an unusual delegation, for this is the first time in many decades that you are being sent off by the entire Estonian people. They want to be with you in defending the sovereign and happy future of their republic. We would like you to take with you from here the concern, worries and hopes of our people and return to us with the news that the voice of the Estonian people was heard, understood and supported."

"Forty-eight years ago, also in June," said R. Yarlik, "the democratic government of Iohannes Vares Barbarus came to power. Soon afterwards, however, it was crushed by the milestone of Stalinism and, subsequently, by departmental arbitrariness. We must go back to those bright ideals. Let us do all of this together, sensibly and wisely, in the common family of Soviet peoples, and

build a future together with all the peoples on our planet, for although it may be round, this planet is our common home and relations among us must be clear and straight."

Candidate of Philosophical Sciences E. Savisaar took the microphone.

"For a long time," he said, "Estonia was covered by the thick fog of stagnation. Many people lost hope. Now this time is, likely, behind us. The people have taken heart. In some, this triggers faith and hope; in others, fear and confusion. Increased activeness is not only of great political but also moral significance, confirming our readiness to assume responsibility for our own present and our future. Standing here, shoulder to shoulder, we feel that there is no force which could turn us into blind executors of orders by outsiders. We respect all people, regardless of their nationality, but we wish that our rights and aspirations be equally respected. The conversion to democracy may be difficult, but it is taking place. To realize this, suffice it to look at one another, in each other's eyes, to turn around and then to recall the way we were only 3 years ago. The conversion to democracy must be taken to its completion. Then our descendants will remember us with respect."

"Today, five of the 32 delegates elected to attend the All-Union Party Conference, are standing among us. They must remember that answering to the people after the conference is even more important than consulting with them before it. Their mission is very responsible. However, we must not forget that history is nonetheless made by people through whose efforts the old is overthrown and through whose labor the new is built."

The floor was given to Candidate of Philosophical Sciences Ye. Golikov:

"Dear fellow citizens!"

"Let me greet you on the occasion of the fact that we lived to see this day. We have already deserved our present but we must as yet fight for the future. All of us find it difficult to become accustomed to the new realities. No one can claim to have the absolute truth, including even the broadest possible mass movement. That is why we must not only be tolerant but also patient. The party needs our support. Furthermore, without us no perestroyka would be possible. That is the main thing which is uniting all of us today. I believe that that is what has brought us on this field, which is sacred to all Estonians and to everyone who loves Estonia and respects its people and its land. However, we have been brought here not only by hope but also by concern, concern for the fate of perestroyka, the fate of democracy."

"Immanuel Kant, the great German philosopher," Ye. Golikov said, "claimed that human life is affected more than anything else by two things: looking at the starry sky

above and at the moral law in one's own heart. In our complex world, it is very important to preserve humanness, to cultivate love, to protect variety within the unity which we represent. Today we have gathered here to instruct the delegates to the party conference. Both they and we must remember that the conference will be a serious test for all of us. That is why I call upon you to help our delegates to fulfill their mission at the conference. What divides us today must be set behind that which unites us. We struggle for perestroyka to become not only a front, but a construction site."

"Today," the speaker stressed, "the attitude toward other nations and ethnic groups becomes a yardstick of humanity in a society. Perestroyka will inevitably fail if its result is a distorted and one-sided development of some nations at the expense of others. We have already had more than enough of such practices. We have no right to allow or tolerate them in the future."

I. Toome, the first of the group of delegates present at the meeting, approached the microphone:

"It is clear to everyone," he said, "that an essential, a revolutionary change is currently taking place in our society. We cannot, we have no right to stop midway. The initiated changes must be continued and brought to their completion. It is equally clear that they can be carried out only by a people—a free people aware of their responsibility not only for the present but for the future, for the future of their native land and the children of Estonia, for its forests, rivers, lakes and fields, for peace and free labor for the sake of the future. What kind of future should this be? Our reason indicates that the time will come when society will no longer have any classes, states or parties. However, the reality of our days is such that they exist. Consequently, the main question now is the following: What type of state and party should we have today?"

"I believe that in this connection we, delegates to the 19th Party Conference, must see our tasks as being the following: the soviets must become truly democratic agencies of the people's rule. To this effect, the very next elections should be based on the new electoral law; we also need a new and improved constitution; the formation of any new cabinet at the first session of the newly elected Supreme Soviet should be a formation of essence and not form. Every member of the government must realize that he is responsible to the people and that he has been appointed to this position not once and for all. The same democratic principle must be applied to the party as well."

"The Estonian Communist Party is a party of a sovereign, of an equal Union republic, a structural part of the CPSU and promoter of its policy of perestroyka in Estonia. We must clearly define the party's role in

society and exclude in the future any duplication in the activities of party and soviet authorities and public movements. We must act jointly and not substitute for each other.

"The Estonian party members must more actively participate in the formulation and solution of party-political problems on an all-party scale. They must participate on an equal footing in the formulation of resolutions by the CPSU Central Committee if they pertain to the republic's party organization and our economic, ideological and social problems. In order to surmount the political and moral crisis of the period of stagnation the party must, above all, cleanse itself. We must get rid of the fatal consequences of obedience, hypocrisy and bureaucratism.

"The future of the restructuring of our economy is an Estonia functioning on a cost accounting basis, and the subordination of the entire national economy of the republic to our government. Our national relations must be based on reciprocal understanding and respect. This is one of the main postulates of humanism. We need more culture and tolerance. We must ensure social justice for all people of Estonia and guarantee the priority development of national culture and respect for national traditions.

"Stalinism was a man-hating criminal system. We must expose and make public the entire truth of those sinister times. We must eliminate injustice wherever this is still possible, rehabilitate the victims of Stalinism and perpetuate their memory.

"As I greet all those assembled here, on behalf of the conference delegates I assert that the concerns and problems of Soviet Estonia are our common concerns and problems."

Mare Rossmann, teacher, first secondary school, Rakvere, said:

"It is precisely now that all of us must join efforts. Last night, standing at Vallimyae, in Rakvere, I thought that the people, with their wisdom, memory and vital force, are a truly amazing phenomenon. Through lies and pain, through stagnation, despite the trampling of human dignity, the people believed in the advent of truth, for it is only on the basis of truth that works which glorify humanness can be created, and because truth alone can heal the wounds.

"If the conference can make even a small contribution to the fact that in our country man begins to be truly valued and ennobled, this in itself would mean a great deal. Why am I mentioning the ennoblement of man today? We cannot wait by beginning first to bring order in the economy and only then become decent people, the more so since in the economy nothing can be accomplished without the help of man.

"The view that we could be ordered to work well and with dedication and to love the homeland warmly proved to be false. The understanding that the person must wish himself to work well came significantly later. More frequently we seem to be able only to criticize but not to correct what is bad."

M. Rossmann, who supported the idea of converting Estonia to full cost accounting, said that one can no longer live so poorly in such a rich land. As to national relations, the delegate noted that the national feelings of the Estonians are not directed against anyone.

"All we want," she said, "is to live freely and happily in our land. We want to decide for ourselves what precisely happiness means to us. We respect the same right for all other peoples. We wish friendship among all the peoples of the USSR but without having 'older' and 'younger' brothers."

Tiit Vyakhi, director of the Valga Automotive Transportation Base No 9, stepped up to the microphone:

"In dealing with all matters," he said, "I have always valued the knowledge of specialists. Our time, however, is apparently such that specialists in all professions must take part in politics. That is why today I do not feel out of place on this rostrum. I will probably not be discovering America if I said that we have reached a profound sociopolitical crisis. In order to surmount this crisis we must abandon the concept of expectation, the concept of embellishment. We must undertake to make radical changes.

"I believe that it is very important for Estonia and all Union republics to have their sovereignty acknowledged. The principle of a union-federation consisting of truly equal and sovereign republics must be asserted. What should be discussed is not the type of rights we are asking for ourselves but the fact that Union republics must gather together and decide what problems should remain within the range of competence of the Union. I believe that we must encourage the processes of democratization and self-government, so that the people will truly participate in management and that the leadership will obey the will of the people."

The floor was given to Ennu-Arno Sillari, first secretary of the Tallin City Party Committee:

"When has it been that so many people have shown an interest in meeting with delegates to a party forum? Today I stand in front of you with feelings of concern and joy. Concern, because many party and nonparty people in our republic disagree with the way the delegates were chosen. Joy, because the people are experiencing unparalleled interest in who will represent Estonia at this important party forum.

ELECTION OF DELEGATES

"On what basis do we proceed as we go to the conference? The people want to know whether our principles are those of honesty, sober thinking and interests of the homeland. Here is my credo: Stalinism must be unreservedly condemned, so that nothing similar could ever happen again. We must be consistent and, if necessary, stubborn, in the good sense of the word, in promoting the development of an efficient mechanism which would ensure the sovereign rights of the republic. The development of each sovereign state within the country will add strength to the entire country. For that reason we must say most decisively 'no' to the license of Union departments. One of the guarantees for this could be the conversion of the Estonian SSR to cost accounting. This would make it possible to ensure a significantly more efficient organization of environmental protection and the hope will appear that in the future we will have clean air, water and soil. This is important to everyone, regardless of nationality.

"We can accomplish all of this only by acting jointly, together with the entire Estonian people. Perestroika and democratization must unite us even more rather than divide us."

Television journalist Yukhan Aare approached the microphone:

"In my hands," he said, "I have a container of a unique type of canned goods ever manufactured in Estonia. About this, however, I shall speak later.

"We have reached a period of long-awaited and very major and historically important changes. We need changes in politics, economics, and culture. We need changes in everything. Look at our industrial enterprises and plants in the northeastern part of Estonia; look at the Kunda Cement Plant, look at the enterprises in Tallin, and the quarries of Maardu. We have become accustomed to the figure that in recent decades the volume of industrial output in Estonia has increased by a factor of 40-50. However, we usually fail to add that most of this took place at the expense of the destruction of our natural resources. Look at Lasnamyae. Yesterday I spent 2 hours there, talking to construction workers and residents, Estonian as well as non-Estonian. I talked to children who asked to be taken away from that place, for life there was impossible. That part of the city is hostile to human life. Yesterday the construction workers suggested that the new homes be built totally without windows for, as it were, they would never get any sunlight.

"Look at our roads. We must clutch a piece of rubber between our teeth when we travel on them. Look at our fields and look at the variety of products on the farmer's table. Not only the hedgehogs but even the worms realize that we can no longer go on this way. This is leading us nowhere. Tell me, what kind of agriculture is it in which we produce ever more and get ever less? In Estonia we are in a state of profound ecological crisis. These canned

products are the proof. They contain water from Pyarnus Bay. Here is the explanation: The admissible level of pollution of the bay has been exceeded by a factor of 5,000. We shall take those cans with us to Moscow.

"Look at the dried out wells in the area of the Virumaa phosphorite deposits. If you visit the area you would realize that the greatest ecological catastrophe which would threaten us would come from there.

"Look at the thick clouds of dust over our electric power plants. We cannot allow ourselves the building of new electric power plants with obsolete technology and new mines which are now being planned for everywhere. This matter has another aspect as well. A new electric power plant and a new mine would considerably increase the size of the republic's population.

"Taking all of this into consideration, let me repeat the idea already expressed today: Our only salvation is a real regional economic autonomy. All natural resources must belong to us. We need a government elected by the people, who would be accountable to their own people."

Instructions to the delegates were given not only in prose, so to say, but also in poems, read by the noted satirist P. Aymla and poetess A. Alavayne.

The participants in the meeting were greeted by Aleksandr Serkov, on behalf of the Perestroika Club in Leningrad, and by A. Yuozaytis, candidate of philosophical sciences and winner of the bronze medal for swimming at the 1976 Olympics, and by Doctor of Economic Sciences K. Prunskiyene, on behalf of the recently created Lithuanian Popular Front.

The floor was then given to A. Danilson, turner at the Tartu timber combine:

"Yesterday's events (Tenth Estonian Communist Party Central Committee Plenum)," he said, "have led me to throw away the speech I had written for this meeting, as I was driving, and to come up with new ideas. Once again I would like to remind the delegates of the difficult burden they must assume as they go to represent our land, our people, at the All-Union Party Conference. Perestroika is gathering pace. You, honored delegates, can no longer wait for the completion of the tremendous work done by doctors and candidates of sciences in the interpretation of our history. In just a few days you will have to explain, including to those who, in 1940, destroyed our books, whether scientific or for children, with their axes, that we are a people with an age-old culture. The Estonian people have their own traditions and customs. We are not imposing them on other peoples nor do we wish those of others to be imposed upon us. We in Estonia had always worked conscientiously, until it became clear to us that what mattered were not results but indicators. It was against that background that there developed brigade leaders who forced women to plaster and paint unheated premises in winter and

adolescents, graduates of vocational-technical schools, to mix concrete with shovels, in the cold. It was on the basis of such 'internal reserves,' if one may use this term, that these people received awards. Against the background of an overall economic decline, one or two model-display enterprises or farms were developed in each city or rayon, and their supermanagers and party workers made careers with incredible speed. I did not hear, however, that any Dutch or Canadian farmers came to visit such farms to gain experience or that our brigade leaders were invited as consultants by Japanese or West German firms.

"Those who made their careers so rapidly at that time are now concerned with one thing only: to protect the existing management system and their jobs and positions. We have become tired not of work but of the endless experimentations they are inventing. We have become accustomed calmly and thoroughly to weigh our affairs and to implement our plans with the same type of good sense and energy. We need good managers, thoroughly familiar with economic laws. If we have such managers all the stupidities found on store shelves would disappear and, with them, the objective reasons which encourage the production of such stupidities, replaced by goods which will be of truly world standards. We do not wish, and that is something that the delegates must say in Moscow, for Estonia to become a hog-breeding combine of Union significance, or a mill grinding phosphorite flour.

"On behalf of the working people of Estonia, and I went to work before I was even 7 years old, I call upon you, delegates to the conference, to dedicate all efforts to changing the electoral system, to amending the constitution, in such a way as to prevent the restoration of the Stalinist system forever. I would like you to pass on to Moscow that the Estonian people will never agree to sharing the fate of the Vepsy and Karely. We shall be waiting for you to come back and we hope that you will come holding your heads high. And when you come, we shall roll up our sleeves and together undertake to build a sovereign Estonian SSR, based on cost accounting."

"Our people," said M. Lauristin, head of the department of journalism, Tartu State University, "have heard many beautiful speeches and given many promissory notes, many of which were never redeemed. Today we must

begin by cashing them and only then should new ones be issued to us, such that cannot be cashed today. I believe that the main result of today is that every one of us felt that the Popular Front, the unified people's front in Estonia, was indeed born. In the past year we clearly established for ourselves what we wish. Today these thoughts and demands were voiced: the sovereign Union republics have made a definitive and irreconcilable evaluation of Stalinism as an inhuman system which destroys the faith of the people in socialism and democracy, and tolerance of any honest views, whatever the form in which they may be expressed; we need a new leadership which would rally us in the pursuit of common aspirations."

A traditional sentence found in official reports is the following: "The speeches were heard with attention and repeatedly interrupted with applause." Let us point out that in this case this reflected with perfect accuracy the reaction to the speeches. However, this was not a case of applause but of thunderous ovations.

The meeting ended with the adoption of an appeal to the delegates, which has already been published in the press. However, those who had gathered here failed to disperse for a long time afterwards, the more so since the popular Yustament ensemble replaced the speakers on the platform.

We know that by no means everyone would be pleased with our report. Many will say that it includes by no means all that which was said at the meeting. This is true. However, a report is not a record which would be spread over several newspaper columns. Naturally, we chose what seemed to us the most essential, the most typical and, possibly, that which agreed to the greatest extent with our views and thoughts. However, as was also said at the meeting, no one should claim to hold the absolute truth, nor do we.

It is very difficult to describe in a report the atmosphere which prevailed at Pevcheskiy Field: it was serious, practical minded and principled and, at the same time, uplifted, festive. That is because, let us repeat ourselves, this meeting was a true festivity, a holiday of unity, a demonstration of the resolve to follow the course of perestroyka to the end.

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